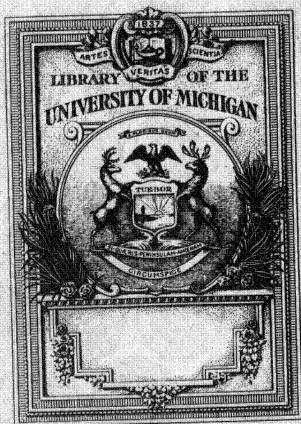


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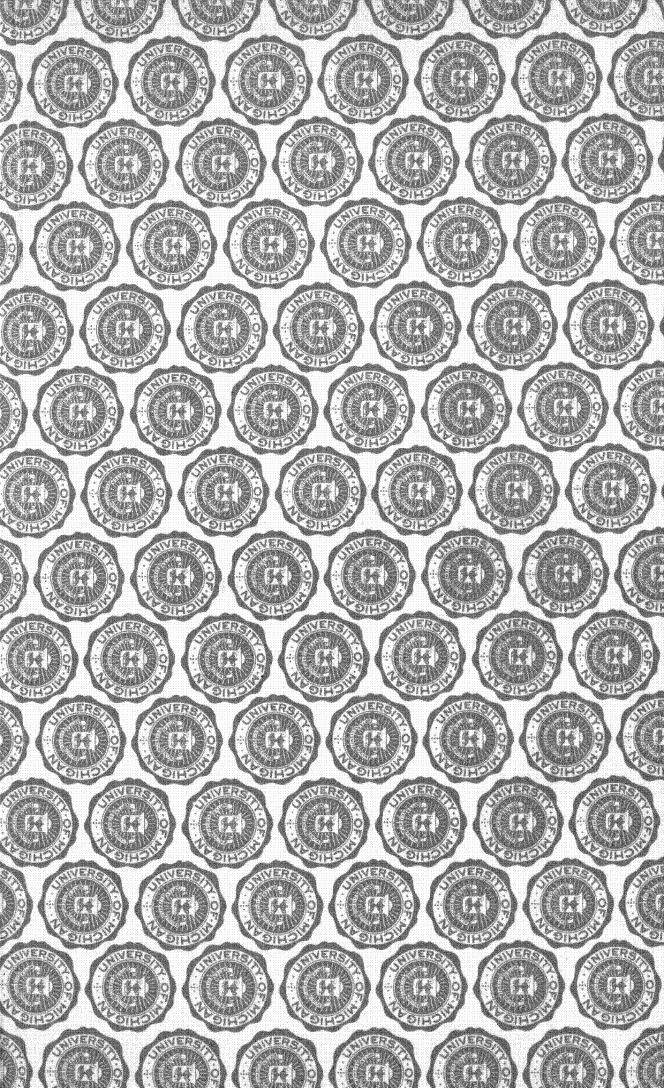
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Maj. T. M. Spaulding



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TWENTY-THIRD ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FOR THE YEAR 1914

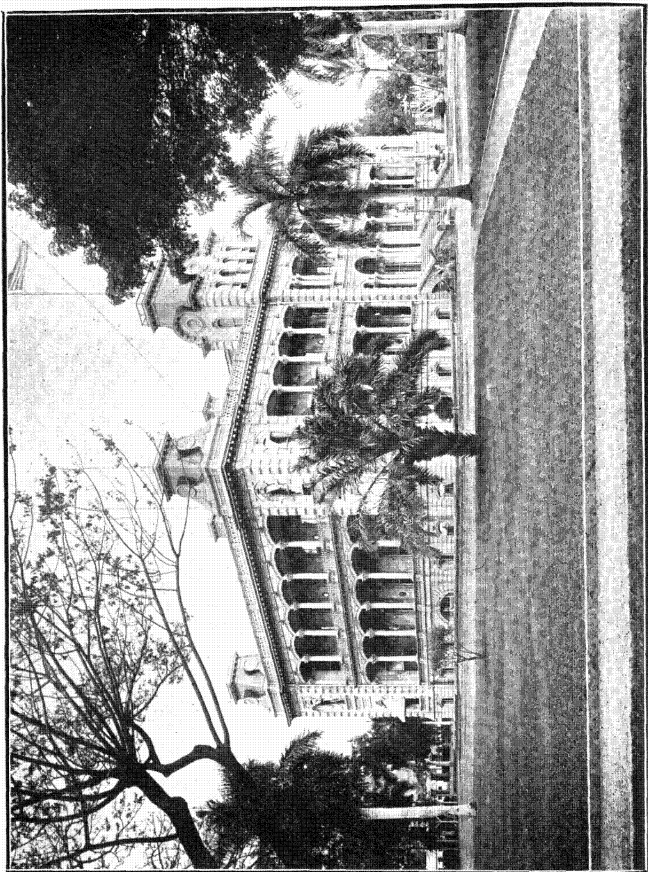
WITH PAPERS READ AT THE ANNUAL
MEETING JANUARY 11, 1915



HONOLULU
PARADISE OF THE PACIFIC PRESS
1915



THE OLD PALACE



TWENTY-THIRD ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FOR THE YEAR 1914

WITH PAPERS READ AT THE ANNUAL
MEETING JANUARY 11, 1915



HONOLULU
PARADISE OF THE PACIFIC PRESS
1915

HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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 FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT.....C. H. HITCHCOCK
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 TREASURER.....BRUCE CARTWRIGHT, JR.
 RECORDING SECRETARY.....EDGAR WOOD
 CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.....W. D. WESTERVELT
 LIBRARIAN.....MISS E. I. ALLYN

Additional Members Board of Managers.

A. F. JUDD

A. W. CARTER

HENRY B. RESTARICK

TRUSTEE, LIBRARY OF HAWAII.....A. LEWIS, JR.

STANDING COMMITTEES.

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Genealogy Committee.

BRUCE CARTWRIGHT, JR.
 EDGAR HENRIQUES GERRIT P. WILDER

INDEX.

	PAGE
Minutes of the Annual Meeting.....	4
Treasurer's Report	5
Report of the Librarian.....	6
Report of Genealogical Committee.....	10
Report of the Corresponding Secretary.....	12
Sketch of Constitutional History in Hawaii.....	13
<i>By Wm. R. Castle</i>	
Thirty Days of Hawaiian History—(The Accession of Lu- nalilo to the Throne).....	28
<i>By Sanford B. Dole</i>	
The Constitutional Convention of 1894.....	50
<i>By F. M. Hatch</i>	
Corresponding Members	62
Active Members	63

Maj. T. M. Spaulding
 9th
 4-11-1924

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING

The twenty-third annual meeting of the Hawaiian Historical Society was held at the rooms of the Society, Library of Hawaii, on January 11, 1915. There were present ninety-five members and their guests, the largest attendance in our records.

At a meeting of the Board of Managers it was voted to hold a spring meeting in the month of May.

A list of officers for 1915 was nominated, and they were unanimously elected by the society.

Reports were presented by the corresponding secretary, the librarian, the treasurer, and the chairman of the genealogical committee, which were accepted and ordered printed.

The papers of the evening were then read, as follows:

Hon. William R. Castle: A sketch of Constitutional History in Hawaii.

Judge Sanford B. Dole: Thirty Days of Hawaiian History—(the accession of Lunalilo to the throne).

Judge Francis M. Hatch: The Convention of 1894.

The meeting then adjourned.

HOWARD M. BALLOU,
Recording Secretary.

TREASURER'S REPORT

1914

Balance from 1913\$ 253.85

RECEIPTS.

Membership dues	\$ 221.00	
Sale of Reports50	
Interest on McBryde Bonds	100.00	\$ 575.35

EXPENDITURES.

Paid to Treasurer, Library of Hawaii.....	\$ 116.40	
Postage	8.10	
Collector	19.80	
Publishing Annual Report	73.50	
Genealogical Department: printing and filing	17.00	
Stationery	3.70	
Re-framing pictures	19.75	
	\$ 258.25	
Balance in Bank of Hawaii	317.10	\$ 575.35
Amount in Savings Bank, Bishop & Co.....		\$ 443.48
Two McBryde Sugar Co. \$1000.00, 5% bonds, now in safekeeping with the Bank of Hawaii, Ltd.		\$2,000.00

Respectfully submitted,

BRUCE CARTWRIGHT, JR.,

Treasurer.

Jan. 9, 1915, Audited and found correct.

O. C. O. LINNEMANN,

Bookkeeper, M. McInerney, Ltd.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

TO THE OFFICERS AND MEMBERS
OF THE HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

GENTLEMEN :

It is my privilege as Librarian of the Society to submit the following report for the year 1914:

During the early months the arranging of papers, pamphlets and other unbound material was completed. Three volumes of Hawaiian papers for 1912 have been bound. These are "*Ke Aloha Aina*," "*Kuokoa*," and "*Ka Hoku*"; also three volumes of the "*Paradise of the Pacific*". For the files of these publications we are indebted to Mr. Westervelt.

All books acquired from time to time and previously indexed have been accessioned and catalogued. These include 114 volumes as follows:

Alexander, M. C.

Story of Hawaii, 1912.

Barnes, A. S.

Hawaiian geography. n.d.

Blackman, Leopold.

Kaupeepee, 1902.

Brigham, W. T.

The volcanoes of Kilauea and Mauna Loa on the Island of Hawaii. 1909.

Bryan, W. S. ed.

Our islands and their people as seen with camera and pencil. 2v. 1899.

Carpenter, E. J.

America in Hawaii. 1899.

Catlin and others.

Hawaiian collection of church music.

Churchill, William.

Beach-la-mar, 1911.

- Cleghorn, A. S.*, comp.
Letters of condolence and resolutions on the death of
Miriam Likelike. 1887.
- Churchill, William.*
Easter Island, 1912.
Polynesian wanderings. 1911.
- Cowan, James.*
Maoris of New Zealand. 1910.
- De la Vergne, G. H.*
Hawaiian sketches. 1898.
- Dole, E. P.*
Hiwa, 1900.
- Earl, G. W.*
Native races of the Indian archipelago. 1853.
- Emerson, N. B.*
Unwritten literature of Hawaii. 1909.
- Fornander, Abraham.*
Account of the Polynesian race. 3v. 1878.
- Gill, William.*
Gems from the coral islands. v.2.
- Godfrey, Frank.*
Pertinent points for pilgrims to the Paradise of the
Pacific. 1893.
- Gowen, H. H.*
Paradise of the Pacific. 1892.
- Hocken, T. M.*
Bibliography of the literature relating to New Zealand.
1909.
- Hunt, D. T.*
The past and present of the Sandwich Islands. 1853.
- Jagger, T. A.*
Report of the Hawaiian Volcano Observatory. 1912.
- Jordan and Evermann.*
Descriptions of new genera and species of fishes from
the Hawaiian Islands. 1903.

- Krout, M. H.*
Hawaii and a revolution. 1898.
- Liliuokalani.*
Hawaii's story by Hawaii's Queen. 1898.
- Moon.*
John, Chap. III, in Tahitian, in type for the blind.
- Musick, J. R.*
Hawaii, our new possessions. 1898.
- Paris, A. M.*
A lei-aloha of Hawaii. 1902.
- Russell, M.*
Polynesia. 1842.
- Smith, S. P.*
Memoirs of the Polynesian Society. v.1.
History and traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast
North Island of New Zealand, prior to 1840. 1910.
- Stoddard, C. W.*
The island of tranquil delights. 1904.
- Stokes, J. F. G.* comp.
Index to "The Polynesian Race" by Abraham Fornander.
- Twombly, A. S.*
Hawaii and its people. 1899.
Kelea, the surf-rider. 1900.
- Walker, F. D.*
Log of the Kaalokai. 1909.
- Westervelt, W. D.*
Legends of Maui.
- Whitney, Caspar.*
Hawaiian America. 1899.
- Wilcox, E. V.*
Hawaii, its agricultural possibilities. 1909.
- Miscellaneous.*
Annual reports of the American Historical Association. 16v.
Annual report of the Collector General of Customs of
the Hawaiian Islands. 1891-1899.

Bulletin of the U. S. Fish Commission, vol. 23 for 1903.
pt. 1.

Cook's third voyage.

Cook's voyage to the Pacific Ocean.

Custom house statistics. 1860-1872.

Hawaii nei.

Laws of her Majesty, Liliuokalani, Queen of the Hawaiian Islands. 1892.

Laws of His Majesty, Kamehameha V. 1864-65.

Laws of the Territory of Hawaii passed by Legislature. 1911.

Na haawina Palapala Hemolele no ke kula Sabati.

Polynesian. 16v.

Proceedings of the 23rd annual meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference.

Reports of causes determined in the U. S. district court for the district of Hawaii, Nov. 3, 1906—Mar. 30, 1911.

Reports of the Collector General of Customs, 1900.

Scrapbook containing clippings from the Pacific Commercial Advertiser. 2v.

Statutes of the Royal Order of Kalakaua I.

Unpublished "Minutes of the prudential meetings of the mission." Nov. 19, 1819, to July 22, 1820, and March 14, 1831, to May 18, 1831.

Voyage autour du Monde. 23v.

One important addition to the card catalogue should be noted. This is an index by author, title and subject of all articles included in the annual reports and papers of the Society. This makes the subjects treated easily available for reference. It will be an easy matter year by year to add the contents of each report as issued.

Missing numbers in the files of various publications are needed. When these sets are filled out and the volumes bound the cataloguer can continue the work of indexing.

The membership of the Society is 133. There have been three deaths and one resignation within the year.

Respectfully submitted,

EDNA I. ALLYN,

Librarian.

Report of the Genealogical Committee

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN:—

At our last Annual Meeting I was given authority by those present to look into the advisability of the Hawaiian Historical Society taking up genealogical work. I invited Mr. Edgar Henriques and Mr. Gerrit P. Wilder to join me as a Committee to go into the matter. This Committee has thoroughly discussed the question and begs to submit the following remarks and recommendations:

- 1—History, from its very nature must recognize individuals, their families, and their relationships; we therefore think it advisable and necessary that the Hawaiian Historical Society should immediately install a system of keeping Genealogical data, so that it will be readily available to the members of this Society.
- 2—There should be a Committee called the COMMITTEE ON GENEALOGY.
- 3—This COMMITTEE ON GENEALOGY should have charge of all genealogical data presented to the Society, and should systematise the data in accordance with the system to be installed by the Society.
- 4—We are of the unanimous opinion that *no original research work* should be done by the COMMITTEE ON GENEALOGY, their duty being to take care of, and systematise, the data presented to the Society.
- 5—After discussing the matter of the proper system to recommend your Committee is of the opinion that a loose leaf system is the best for our purposes. There should be the following divisions:
 - 1—A card INDEX OF INDIVIDUALS, which will refer to Family Charts, Family Records, and Biographies.
 - 2—FAMILY CHARTS, showing clearly the descent and relationships from an ancestor.
 - 3—FAMILY RECORDS, giving the history of the family and containing dates of birth, marriage and death.

- 4—BIOGRAPHIES, giving the life history of an individual.
- 5—PEDIGREE CHARTS, for tracing back to the ancestors of an individual.

A loose leaf system of filing data of this nature is much to be preferred to the bound book form, for the reason that the leaves can be changed and rearranged at will. In research work leaves containing the information desired can be handled much easier and will give much more satisfaction than getting the same information from a book, where the desired data must necessarily be scattered throughout the volume.

- 6—The records of the Families of Hawaii should form an important and valuable part of our reference library.

If this report is accepted and the Society decides to proceed in the matter along the lines recommended by this Committee we earnestly ask every member to give to the Society a history of his or her family as soon as possible. This history should be as complete as possible in regard to dates of birth, death, and marriage, relationships, life histories, family traditions, etc. The Committee on Genealogy will take charge of this data and systematise the same so that it may become a part of our reference library.

Respectfully submitted,

EDGAR HENRIQUES,
 GERRIT P. WILDER,
 BRUCE CARTWRIGHT, JR.,
Genealogical Committee.

Report of the Corresponding Secretary

Comparatively close touch has been maintained the past year as in previous years with the excellent band of Polynesian scholars in New Zealand. The exchange of publications and ordinary correspondence has been continued.

Hon. S. Percy Smith, the highest living authority on Polynesian history, has stated some of the valuable results of research along the line of the origin of the Polynesians. He says: "It is certain that many of the Polynesian myths and traditions find their counterpart in those of the Scandinavian, Celtic, Indian and other branches of the Aryan race, and it is suggested that in the Polynesian versions we are frequently nearer to the originals as they obtained in primitive times than in any other branch of the Caucasian race, because of the long isolation of the people in their island homes."

If you will pardon a personal reference I will quote along the same line from a preface written by Mr. Smith for the Australian edition of my book "Legends of Maui, a Demi-God of Polynesia." He says: "When we reflect that traces of the Maui stories are to be discovered in the literature of Egypt, Babylonia, India and also North America we are at once faced with the fact of the immense antiquity of the Maui legends."

Another conclusion stated by Mr. Smith is of so much worth that I will insert it in this report. He says: "It is tolerably clear that on leaving Indonesia a part of the Polynesians made the Hawaiian Islands—then after some generations Tahiti, and much later New Zealand, about the middle of the fourteenth century."

Thus we have a glimpse of the trend toward full belief in the Aryan origin of the Polynesians.

A letter from Baron Sakatani, the present Mayor of Tokyo, is worth noticing as touching a field of study which needs to be entered. He refers to the meaning of the name Maui, which the Polynesian students think is "life," "beauty," "strength." He says that among the Japanese Maui means "good enough." It is also interest to note that the Japanese use the word "*kai*" for "sea" exactly according to the Hawaiian sense of the word.

Respectfully submitted,
W. D. WESTERVELT.

Sketch of Constitutional History in Hawaii

BY W. R. CASTLE.

Fortunately among the teachers who first came in contact with the despotic chiefs of Hawaii were men who possessed that very rare sense called "common sense." They were themselves brought up in an environment of much popular liberty.

Even as long ago as Vancouver's time the people of England possessed many of the liberties which they now hold with enlargements. His advice to the chiefs of Hawaii appears to have suggested that power carries with it a grave responsibility towards the common people.

Some of the acts of Kamehameha I. show that, either from his innate wisdom, or as the result of the suggestions of such men as John Young and Davis, he felt that he had certain duties toward his subjects. The unlimited power he possessed and could have exercised despotically, had he so desired, to the misery and destruction of the common people, he generally held in restraint. The result of this was shown in the improvement to the whole community which followed his conquest.

Prior to the completion of that conquest the loss of life and devastation to property had been frightful; while following it came a rest—a period of safety and of orderly development. Such conditions generally follow a successful war among primitive people, where the result unites the whole nation under one head. It is the tribal and factional wars which are ruinous without a corresponding benefit. This beneficial condition continued till Kamehameha's death. Who shall say that it was not owing, at least in part, to the suggestions made to his masterly mind by Vancouver and others, whose instruction would have been in the line of restriction on autocratic power?

The death of Kamehameha I. was signalized by the breach of the *Kapu*, that most powerful engine and insignia of despotism.

It must be admitted that not all the progress of the Kings of Hawaii towards liberal constitutionalism was owing to their teaching. It was largely due to the intelligence of the reigning chief, which was also far in advance of the general intelligence

of the nation. The chiefs of that day were anxious to learn about the manners and customs, the religion and government of the nations which peopled the great and mysterious unknown world somewhere beyond Hawaii. They were apparently ready to adopt, at least in part, those laws and customs which they recognized as better than their own.

There existed, however, a curious and interesting restriction on the unlimited, irresponsible power of the chiefs, which probably prevented in some instances what might have been its excessive and cruel exercise. This is perhaps illustrated better than by argument by a story of what is said to have actually occurred in Kau, perhaps in the seventeenth or eighteenth century.

A tyrannical chief named "Koihala" ordered a sumptuous feast prepared by his retainers and all the people. Their fields were despoiled of their best foods, pigs, fish and chickens carried off and immense *imus* baked a wonderful variety of tempting viands in limitless quantity. The people were ordered to eat nothing till the chief and his friends were gorged. Everything was taken to "Kalaekailikii," the south point of Hawaii; but, instead of partaking of the sumptuous repast there, the chief suddenly ordered the assembled host to shoulder the full calabashes and take them over to Kona.

This meant a long hot walk over the lava fields of Kahuku and Manuka. But without visible dissent the people trudged over the wearisome trail with their heavy loads. At Kaulanamauna they rested and prepared for the feast. When all was ready the chief suddenly ordered everything taken back to the heights of Kahuku in Kau! Again the people lifted their burdens and returned. On the way, however, they placed their parcels on the ground while resting, and by common consent opened their calabashes and ate the food. The containers were then filled with stones and the march resumed. Koihala was found surrounded by his immediate *ohua* on the beautiful hill where now stands the Kahuku ranch houses.

Haughtily he ordered the tired retainers and people to spread the feast before him, for he was hungry. The long column moved up the hill with their burdens on their shoulders and, as each approached, the container was suddenly opened, with the exclamation, "Here, oh Chief, is your food; may it give you our strength!" with which the contents were thrown

over him till he was covered by a pile of stones, which remains till this day as a warning to the chief that the patience of the people has its limits.

Until the days of Kaahumanu and of Kamehameha III., it is not likely that the Kings and chiefs, while enacting laws for the better governing of the kingdom, intended to curtail their own powers. They appreciated the advantage to themselves of a government of law. They also intelligently understood the great danger to their power and the continued independence of Hawaii if the increasing contact with foreign countries disclosed here a state of lawlessness, or a government by a capricious and unrestrained chief. For that reason very early in the reign of Kamehameha II., but more particularly during the long and wise regency of Kaahumanu and the early years of Kamehameha III. (Kamehameha III.) the existence of a government of law was urged upon the attention of all foreign representatives.

In point of fact, prior to the so-called First Constitution of 1840 there were very few written laws. What printed laws existed were very crude in form, but after all they showed some attempt to observe real constitutional principles in their making. On the 8th of October, 1840, Kamehameha III. promulgated what is called the "First Constitution of Hawaii."

In the declaration of rights, after the statement that all nations of the earth are of one blood, etc., here follows: "God has also bestowed certain rights alike on all men and all chiefs and all people of all lands."

In the third paragraph it is said that government is established for purposes of peace but that laws for the protection of rulers only, without providing protection for the subjects, would be improper, and in general the declaration provides for an equality of right of rulers and subjects which was surprising for that time.

As might have been expected from the fact that the influence of the American missionaries at that time was strong, the principles adopted in the first constitution are somewhat democratic.

Freedom of religious belief is declared; the right of redress for personal injuries; the right of the accused to be brought face to face with his accusers, and the establishment of guilt by the same lines of proof required in highly organized society.

Provision was made for certain rights of the King, setting

forth his prerogatives; a legislature was also provided for, with two houses, to sit separately. An interesting feature of the first laws and constitution is that they were in the Hawaiian language, the translations being from the Hawaiian into English. At a later period in the history of the country, the English language was made controlling, the Hawaiian, if any difference was found in the laws, to read in accord with the sense of the English version. The first constitution also provided for an independent supreme court. The laws thereafter enacted covered a code which was quite complete and exhaustive.

Of course it is understood that most of these laws were framed in part by and generally upon the advice of foreigners who were educated to some extent in the legal phraseology and forms of the English common law. John Ricord performed services in the making and construction of the laws in the early days which were of the highest value to the country.

The importance of education was recognized by placing certain prohibitions on those who had not learned how to read, write, etc., as to holding certain government offices. It is interesting to note that by the law of 1842 young men and young women, born subsequent to the beginning of the reign of Kamehameha III., who had not learned to read and write were not allowed to get married until they could do so.

Still another concession was made by the King to the spirit of the age when, in 1845, an act was passed to create the Board of Commissioners to Quiet Land Titles, the object being to set apart certain lands in fee simple for the common people of Hawaii, who never before that time had been recognized as having title to land, except a vague right of residence, founded on long occupation perhaps feudal in its nature.

Then the King called all of the chiefs of the country together and, after a long and stormy session, practically compelled them to transfer all of their lands to him as feudal lord, in consideration whereof he conveyed back to them certain lands in fee simple. By this act nearly all of the land in the Kingdom became definitely vested in him.

Then, reserving certain lands to himself, evidently intending thereby to create an estate, the income from which should be employed to support the royal dignity thereafter, the great body of the remaining lands was made over to the Minister of the Interior to become a public domain.



КАМЕХАМЕНА III



In 1852, recognizing the defects of the bill of rights and constitution of 1840, and having evidently made considerable progress towards a real constitutional government, the King granted a constitution, which is often spoken of as the first constitution of Hawaii. Of course it is not the first, but it contained in the declaration of rights a statement of the rights and powers of the people, with limitations on the royal prerogatives which perhaps first made Hawaii a real constitutional monarchy.

The reservation and declaration of the prerogatives of the Crown were quite explicit, but they are of such a nature as are generally retained in the constitutionally governed monarchies of other parts of the world.

Legislative power was then vested in an assembly consisting of a House of Nobles and a House of Representatives, the King reserving a veto power upon laws passed by the legislature, this veto not being reviewable by the legislature.

A judiciary department was also constituted which was granted powers as complete and comprehensive as are the powers granted to the same department in other countries, except perhaps those of the Supreme Court of the United States.

The last article of this constitution provided a definite method of amendment through the legislature. A proposed amendment, having been passed by one legislature, final action was deferred until the next succeeding legislature; the theory being that in the meantime the proposed amendments would be discussed by the people and that the next succeeding legislature would be elected with definite instructions as to the final adoption of the proposed constitutional amendment.

It was, however, the opinion of a good many of the more intelligent residents of Hawaii, among whom there were some Hawaiians, that this constitution was ahead of the times. It was thought that the people were not fitted for the degree of self government given to them by its terms, and the effect of government under this constitution was watched with close attention by these critics, all of whom it may be said were solicitous that the very best good should result to Hawaii in all things.

It was open to question whether or not the people thoroughly understood what this gift of liberty meant. But no great trouble ensued till the meeting of the legislature of 1862, when a storm broke out.

It was charged that the Minister of Finance was incompetent; that he had falsified accounts and an attempt was made to compel his removal before any supplies were voted. Stormy scenes ensued and the legislature held out obstinately for months, refusing to vote any supplies until their wishes with regard to the finance department were gratified.

It seemed to many of those who were watching carefully the working of constitutional government in Hawaii that the actions of this legislative session indicated a total lack of understanding by the people of the real meaning of the rights granted to them and that, having tasted power, they would become lawless, because of a failure to understand that a grave responsibility was coupled with the powers to be exercised by the people.

It was known that Lot Kamehameha looked on the constitution of 1852 as a failure.

In November, 1863, Kamehameha IV. died. His elder brother Lot thereupon ascended the throne. The following year, 1864, another session of the legislature was due and the writs for an election should have been issued in February. This was not done and there was much interest and some excitement as to why this omission.

In April or May the King issued a proclamation calling for a convention to be elected and held in Honolulu for the consideration of amendments and changes to be made in the constitution. This aroused a storm of opposition, severe criticism being made of the so-called autocratic methods of the King.

The convention, however, was elected and was convened in June. A storm at once arose.

The efforts of the King's representatives to introduce amendments to the constitution were opposed and it became evident that if the members would not consider the changes proposed by the King, or his representatives, trouble would ensue. On this a few members resigned, stating their reasons very fully through the columns of *The Advertiser*, claiming that the methods employed by the King were not only unconstitutional, but subversive of all liberty and of all popular rights in Hawaii.

On the 12th of August the constitutional convention was dissolved; the members sent home, and on the 20th, eight days after the dissolution, Kamehameha V. promulgated as his own act the constitution of 1864.

Many of those who were most alarmed at the threat to pop-

ular liberty and constitutional government were somewhat relieved on finding that the terms of this constitution were, in form at least, not altogether subversive of popular rights. But the method by which this constitution became the fundamental law was recognized as clearly establishing a right in the throne to make and unmake constitutions at the will of the King. In other words that the apparent limitations of the royal powers were mere hollow phrases and of no binding force on the King.

As an indication perhaps of whether the people were fitted for self-government, it may be stated that the Hawaiian people were extremely loyal to the Kamehameha family, and the storm of opposition raised against the act of Kamehameha V. in annulling the constitution and promulgating a new one of his own making, was resented by the entire people as an act of enmity to their King. They apparently failed to see that the act of the King was an act of despotism, and no matter how generous the terms of the grant might have been, yet if the King had power to destroy one constitution, that power remained for the next.

As long as Kamehameha V. lived things went on quite smoothly. He was a very shrewd and careful man and appointed as his advisers representatives from the three leading foreign nations represented in the Islands, as well as a native Hawaiian and, by a wise system of conservation, things went on smoothly and quietly, although it was a fact that to a considerable extent there was no real interest in the exercise of any of the rights given to the people by the constitution of 1864.

In 1872 Kamehameha V. died without having appointed a successor, as provided by his own constitution. This again provoked a storm of excitement and it looked for a while as though trouble might ensue, but Lunalilo, who was himself one of the Kamehamehas, wisely called for an expression of popular opinion as to who the successor to the throne should be, and this expression was so overwhelmingly in his favor as to dispose of any opposition.

When the legislature met Lunalilo was unanimously elected and quietly succeeded to the throne. His reign, however, was weak and contained abundant signs of disintegration, and a little over a year after the death of Kamehameha V. he too died, and again no successor was appointed. This failure to appoint was not that the person he wished to appoint declined to accept,

as was the case with Kamehameha V., but because he wished to have the people elect their own King.

The election of David Kalakaua followed, after an exciting and stormy campaign. The foreigners very largely worked in his favor, as it was believed that the election of Queen Emma would result in making British interests here paramount, and thereby greatly damaging the industrial prospects of the country.

The natural, commercial and industrial affiliations of Hawaii were, of course, at that time, as always, with the United States, and Kalakaua promised that if he were elected he would work for a treaty of reciprocity.

Probably many are still living who remember the riot which followed the announcement that he had been elected. This riot was caused by the adherents of Queen Emma and the participants were almost without exception native Hawaiians who objected to Kalakaua as the representative of the foreigners and desired Queen Emma as more particularly a representative of the native people.

One of the first acts of Kalakaua was to appoint a successor to the throne and provide for a continuous succession through his own family, displacing the Kamehamehas, which family was practically extinct.

The course of constitutional history in Hawaii up to the time of the ascension of Kalakaua had been such as to shake confidence in the enduring force of constitutional provisions.

There is no question that when Kalakaua took the throne, the respect felt by all of the people for the authority of a constitution had been very much shaken. Kalakaua's own course was not calculated to restore confidence.

After doing something to appease the native Hawaiian opposition to himself, declaring that the object of his reign should be to increase the Hawaiian nation, the slogan cry being "*Hoo-ulu Lahui*," by various means, not always of the most creditable character, he sought to establish himself firmly in the minds of the native Hawaiians as the friend of the people.

The legislature of 1874 was the first convened under his reign. Its election was so close to the stormy scenes surrounding the choice of the King that its acts were somewhat colorless as related to the question of royal authority and prerogatives. The election of 1876 witnessed a new element in the campaign,

an attempt to elect members of the House who might be expected to support the King.

The cabinet soon found that influences were in operation behind their backs to control the votes of the members whose aid might be expected by the government. It not infrequently developed that these votes were inimical to the measures proclaimed on the floor of the Assembly as representing the views of the government, and it was rumored very plainly that the opposing movement came in an underhand way from the King himself! The King trying to defeat his representatives in the legislature!

The great question before that legislature, however, was that of the Reciprocity Treaty. The session continued to drag its weary way along from the latter part of April until toward the end of October, the delay being caused principally by the uncertainty whether the Congress of the United States would enact the laws necessary to give force to this treaty. The enabling acts were, however, finally passed, and the necessary amendments to existing laws to carry it into effect were adopted by that country.

The adjournment of the legislature of 1876 was soon followed by the dismissal of the cabinet by the King and this method of making and unmaking cabinets, depending on the whim of the monarch, soon became the rule. A struggle was made against it in favor of the principle that the cabinet was to some extent responsible to the legislature and that it could not be broken up by the King, at his unrestrained will but should remain in existence until it had been defeated by a vote of "want of confidence" in the legislature.

The latent powers which the constitution of 1864 contained, by which an almost absolutely autocratic power could be assumed by the King, were speedily developed by Kalakaua and it became evident before many years that constitutional government in Hawaii was becoming a name and not a reality.

For the legislature of 1886 a long and bitter campaign was entered upon, the King openly attempting to secure a legislature subservient to his wishes.

Very few of the native Hawaiians opposed this action of the King in any way whatsoever. In fact, probably few of them carried anything about it, except that to support the King meant to them to support the rule of the Hawaiians as against the rule

of the foreigners. This idea was vigorously fostered by the King and those who were working for him.

The result showed that Kalakaua was a pretty good politician and knew the people, for, of the entire representative side of the House of thirty, only nine of the opposition to the King's tactics were elected.

Those nine, however, were so thoroughly acquainted with parliamentary law and stood together so firmly that for many weeks they succeeded in defeating the attempts of an absolutely subservient majority to subvert constitutional government in Hawaii. The struggle was long and very bitter.

What was going to happen to constitutional government was plainly declared on the floor of the legislature, but these prognostications and fears were scouted with contempt and toward the end of the session, under the leadership of one of the Honolulu Hawaiians, ably assisted by one or two of the foreign members who were sitting in the House and supporting, possibly without appreciating the inevitable results, all of the pretensions of the king, the final result was the enactment of certain laws which were most dangerous for the continued existence of an independent Hawaii. Among these may be mentioned the notorious Opium Bill.

Very soon after the prorogation of the legislature of 1886 a few of the friends of Hawaii, men who were born here and whose interests were entirely with the country, met to consider the situation. They decided to keep up the fight for constitutional government though it looked as if the battle were a hopeless one, in view of the fact that the overwhelming majority of the voters failed utterly to appreciate the significance of the constant acts of aggression by the King against the true principles of constitutional government. To these voters the appeal had been made directly to support the King because he represented the continuation of the rule of the red-skin, while the efforts of those who opposed him were veiled attempts to take the control from the Hawaiian and vest it in the white man.

It was in vain to explain the principles of constitutional government to the aroused and jealous supporters of Kalakaua; it was only adding fuel to the fire to warn them that the inevitable result must be the loss of Hawaiian independence, because the industries of the country, largely controlled by foreigners, would

never consent to be taxed and exploited by the acts of an irresponsible ruling class. These statements were flung back at those who made them, as proof that they were making insidious attempts to do the very things they gave warning of, and that true patriotism was to oppose them and smash their ideas at all hazards, and unite in upholding the King.

It looked as though constitutional government in Hawaii had reached its limit and that autocracy was soon to be in absolute control. There is one sort of government known as a "benevolent despotism." On many accounts it is not bad in its way. Its value of course depends upon the exalted personal character of the despot and as long as he lives everybody is happy and the government is conducted for the best good of the greatest number.

The fatal defect, however, lies in the fact that the "benevolent despot" may die some time, or otherwise become incapacitated, whereon he is succeeded by a despot who may be a horrible tyrant; then everything goes wrong or the tyrant may be a worthless sort of person, or a spendthrift, or something else pretty bad, then misery and trouble follow in rapid order.

Such a condition was viewed with apprehension by those citizens whose interests and affections were bound up in the country and they asked each other if there was a remedy. They had to admit that the struggle of years was unsuccessful, that all along the line popular rights had fallen when attacked by autocracy.

It was rather bitterly admitted, also, that the failure was not because of the unusual skill or brilliancy of the attack but because the people, those whose rights were at stake, were generally ignorant as to the rights involved, and indifferent to their loss.

In other words, the people were unworthy and not fitted to have the rights, if without discernment the rights were abandoned for the doubtful promise offered.

One evening late in December, 1886, or January, 1887, perhaps a half-dozen of those who did not feel like giving up the contest, met in the parlor of a well-known citizen and, after an hour of discussion, concluded by forming the "Hawaiian League," if I remember the name correctly. Their watch-word and object was "Constitutional Representative Government in Hawaii by every available means." As no record was kept of

the purposes and object, I feel sure there is some defect in this quotation.

Many of those who soon allied themselves with this association have passed on, but there are still many living who can perhaps supply the defect.

The organization was secret, but its members approached others who were likely to be with it in spirit and determination to make its objects successful, and before the end of June, 1887, the Hawaiian League numbered its membership by hundreds and its ramifications extended throughout the whole kingdom.

Of course such an association very soon numbered in its ranks many who burned to achieve its object by a sudden and violent outbreak.

One evening, about the end of May, at a crowded meeting held up on Judd street, this wing, which chafed at the slow action of the officers, proposed that an insurrection be prepared at once, the object being to dethrone the King, erect a provisional government and seek immediate annexation to the United States. The discussion was long and bitter. The argument in favor of this plan was that the King was faithless, had forfeited every right to support, that his further occupation of the throne was a sign of weakness on our part, and that no reforms, even if forced from him, would be stable.

The reply was that it was the duty of the Hawaiian League to secure reforms in the Hawaiian Government and to maintain the independence of the country, and that this object should not be lost sight of or dropped as long as there was any hope of its success.

When a vote was finally taken the immediate annexation plan was voted down by a large majority, and the executive committee was directed to formulate plans for prompt action.

The fact of the existence of this association could not of course be kept secret and Kalakaua was soon in a continual state of terror as to what was coming.

Finally a mass meeting was called and an immense gathering collected at the old armory or drillshed on Beretania street. The populace became satisfied that the Hawaiian League meant business, and practically pledged support.

The unanimity of sentiment of the educated, commercial, property-holding and tax-paying element of the community

against his cause alarmed the King and he promised to grant all requests.

The suddenness of his yielding caught the Hawaiian League napping, as it were, and though nearly all of its members had pretty definite ideas, it took several days to formulate them, and it was therefore not till about a week following the mass meeting that the Constitution of 1887 was proclaimed, July 6th.

This instrument was in some respects a unique document. Its framers, after years of experience in the political field of Hawaii, felt that conditions here were so extraordinary that, unless a bold and unusual step were taken, the influence of the large body of foreigners who had become absolutely identified with the country, who owned and controlled its industries, paid the taxes, gave munificently to its institutions, and in short fixed the character of its society, must be wholly lost. I say, "absolutely identified with the country," yes, in all respects except naturalization; that, they refused, well knowing that in case of necessity, no help could be expected of a government so weak that it existed by sufferance of the great countries of the world. It was therefore provided in this constitution that, with certain well-guarded restrictions, aliens were to be allowed to vote.

The crown and succession to the throne were confirmed in the Kalakaua family, thus carrying out the promise of the Hawaiian League to continue this as a Hawaiian autonomy. The legislature was to consist of a House of Nobles and a House of Representatives, both elective. Article 59 of this constitution provides:

"Every male resident of the Hawaiian Islands, of Hawaiian, American or European birth or descent, who shall have attained the age of twenty years, and shall have paid his taxes, and shall have caused his name to be entered on the list of voters for Nobles for his district, shall be an elector of Nobles, and shall be entitled to vote at any election of Nobles, provided:

"First: That he shall have resided in the country not less than three years, and in the district in which he offers to vote, not less than three months immediately preceding the election at which he offers to vote;

"Second: That he shall own and be possessed, in his own right, of taxable property in this country of the value of not less than three thousand dollars over and above all encumbrances,

or shall have actually received an income of not less than six hundred dollars during the year next preceding his registration for such election;

“Third: That he shall be able to read and comprehend an ordinary newspaper printed in either the Hawaiian, English or some European language.”

Besides these there were a few minor requirements.

The requirements for electors for representatives were less restricted, as set forth in Article 62.

“Every male resident of the Kingdom, of Hawaiian, American or European birth or descent, who shall have taken an oath to support the Constitution and laws in the manner provided for electors of Nobles; who shall have paid his taxes; who shall have attained the age of twenty years; and shall have been domiciled in the Kingdom for one year immediately preceding the year 1840), and shall have caused his name to be entered on the list of voters of his district as may be provided by law, shall be entitled to one vote for the Representative or Representatives of that district.”

Article 48 provided for overcoming the King's veto of bills passed by the legislature, by a two-thirds majority of the elective members. This meant that the cabinet, who held seats ex-officio and voted in the legislature, could not vote on questions of over-riding a veto which might have been from their advice.

Article 41 also provided that the cabinet could not be removed except on a vote of want of confidence, adopted by a majority of the elective members of the legislature.

Time does not permit an extended review of this constitution, but a study of the history of those days is well worth while and will repay the student of constitutional history.

The fears of those who insisted on retaining a Hawaiian Kingdom with Kalakaua at its head were soon realized. As soon as he got over his terror, he began a systematic plotting to nullify the provisions of this new constitution and during that period a number of conspiracies to overturn the government, abrogate this constitution and restore the former order, were nipped in the bud, or met and suppressed with loss of life, as in the case of the Wilcox emeute in July, 1889.

But death came and Kalakaua, while absent seeking health, was called away from the scene of his earthly activities. Those who are acquainted with the secret history of those days might tell a tale of a curious and unexpected reception he might have met, had he returned in health. But that is not a part of this sketch.

Liliuokalani succeeded to the throne in January, 1891, and continued the activities of her brother, in making a bold attempt in January, 1893, to overturn the constitution of 1887 and substitute one of her own, which contained provisions absolutely subversive of the principles of constitutional government, as understood in enlightened countries.

This time the friends of Hawaii gave up any further attempt to continue an independence which was not wanted, and in opposing and defeating this last attempt, openly sought annexation to the United States.

This sketch is more suggestive than historical, and it is to be hoped that its various parts may be taken up and amplified before it is too late, by those whose personal knowledge will enable the supplying of much interesting and useful detail of which there is no record.

Hawaii is a small country, but its constitutional history contains much which will well repay study and comparison, not only by the antiquarian but by those who seek all fields for something of value in the story of human progress.

Honolulu, January 11, 1915.

Thirty Days of Hawaiian History

BY SANFORD B. DOLE

History derives less interest from the magnitude of its events than from the principles involved therein; less from the numbers of its hosts than the causes and character of their movements. The uprising of a small people may be as inspiring as the uprising of a great nation.

To the lover of liberal institutions the accession of King Lunalilo to the Hawaiian throne was full of propitious omens. A step toward popular government, even in a comparatively insignificant State, belongs to the world and is part of universal progress. To Hawaiians it will ever be an era of great political moment. It was a serious crisis in affairs and fortunately terminated favorably for Hawaiian citizenship.

A brief review of a few of the most important circumstances in Hawaiian history will assist to a better understanding of the interesting events connected with the election and installation of King Lunalilo in January, 1873. The Hawaiians had rapidly advanced from the very complete feudal system of the time of their discovery by Captain Cook to the liberal constitutional monarchy of the reign of Kamehameha III. The common people had passed in a single generation from the condition of serfs, retainers, and tenants, to that of citizens and land-holders, with personal freedom and a voice in the government. Upon the death of Kamehameha IV his brother, Prince Lot, proclaimed himself King and took the Government in his own hands. Then, calling a convention of the people to amend the Constitution, which he found inconsistent with his own ideas of government, he addressed them in a dignified and liberal speech in which he made use of the following language:

"It has been the traditional policy of my predecessor to whom the kingdom is indebted for the liberal reforms that have been made, to lead the nation forward and to watch over its welfare. My subjects will find in me as they did in him, a jealous guardian of their liberties and an earnest promoter of all measures calculated to increase their happiness and to check the evils that tend to their destruction."



SANFORD B. DOLE

Five weeks later after much parliamentary sparring, the King, being roundly defeated in a proposed amendment fixing a property qualification for the voting privilege which was a favorite measure with him, abruptly broke up the convention and in the following words fell back upon his last resort against the liberal institutions of the country:

"As we do not agree, it is useless to prolong the session, and as at the time His Majesty Kamehameha III. gave the Constitution of the year 1852, he reserved to himself the power of taking it away if it was not for the interest of his Government and people, and as it is clear to me that that King left the revision of the Constitution to my predecessor and myself, therefore as I sit in his seat, on the part of the Sovereignty of the Hawaiian Islands I make known today that the Constitution of 1852 is abrogated. I will give you a Constitution."

He kept his promise. In a few days he gave his subjects a Constitution proclaimed through the streets of the capital at the head of an armed force. The new Constitution fixed a property condition of suffrage, merged the two houses of the Legislature into one, and introduced several other features of absolutism into the Government. The people submitted not without protest to this high-handed act. The King ruled with a strong hand. He gathered around him vigilant and resolute counsellors. He easily controlled the one-house Legislature. Nine years passed away, years of political suppression and growing alienation between King and people. A period not devoid of commercial prosperity but yet attended with alarming national decay. Nine years, and then the end came.

THE KING'S BIRTHDAY.

Wednesday, the 11th of December, 1872, like most tropical days, rose bright and warm on Honolulu, the Hawaiian capital. It was the birthday of Kamehameha V., the King, and preparations for its customary observance as a national holiday were in full progress in the early morning. Flags fluttered from the Government and private masts and shipping in the harbor. Business houses and shops were closed, and working men of all classes rested from labor. Parties of townspeople were starting out into the country to enjoy the holiday in rural festivities, while a scattered army of natives on their half-trained horses galloped gaily into town over the various roads.

from all parts of the island, men, women and children, and even the horses crowned and garlanded with flowing wreaths of the fragrant maile, all eager to join in whatever of merry-making or excitement the city had to offer.

In the meantime while these signs of festival and pleasure were thus prosperously progressing, a scene of quite a different character was taking place at the Palace of Iolani. Before light the principal Government officials and the most intimate friends of the King had been hastily sent for, as he had been failing rapidly through the night and had at length gone into a state of stupor. Shortly after sunrise his consciousness returned, and those around him took immediate measures to have a will drawn up for him to execute. After some general conversation in regard to the succession, in which no positive conclusions were reached, and a few allusions to the distribution of certain items of his personal property, the Governor of Oahu taking down in writing his words, he told his friends that he was not as sick as they thought he was, and that they all had better have breakfast before going on with the will. Some of the company then left the room, and the King with assistance got up and walked around a little and ate a small quantity of food; then reclining again on his couch, in a few minutes without sign of approaching dissolution, he suddenly and quietly expired, at twenty minutes after ten o'clock.

The public were aware that the King had been seriously ill for many months in spite of the studied concealment on the part of the administration of the fact and the repeated statements in the Government Gazette that His Majesty was in "excellent health," but as to the nature of his malady or the severity of his illness they had to content themselves with the vaguest and most indefinite rumors. Still the fact of the King's absence during the preceding two or three months from the public drives and all state occasions left them not wholly unprepared for the report which was made through the town about breakfast time, that the King was dying. Here and there in the yet quiet streets knots of people gathered and anxiously discussed the event with its possibilities. At about nine o'clock in the forenoon the King's Chamberlain passed through the business portion of the place and told people that His Majesty was better, and was eating breakfast. This news greatly relieved the prevailing anxiety and changed the hush of gloomy anticipation which already brooded over the community, to the more lively

and noisy scenes belonging to the anniversary of a King's birthday. But before half-past ten o'clock, the guns of the Puowaina battery above the town; which had been loaded to give at noon the royal salute, began to thunder forth in mournful minute guns, the announcement that he whose birth the people were then commemorating, was dead; national festivities scattered over many a league were checked and hushed with the ominous warning, and the echoes of the death peal reverberating among the cliffs and crags of the mountains bore to the distant parts of the island a vague hint of the brooding of a public crisis.

The deep feeling caused by the event of the King's decease was rather alarm at the situation and its possibilities than regret for the dead. No royal testament had been signed. No successor to the throne had been appointed and proclaimed; the King left no nearer kin than Ruth Keelikolani, Governess of the Island of Hawaii, his half-sister and not in the line of royal descent. It was a crisis without precedent in the history of the nation; it was impossible to divine the temper of the people or guess at the line of action which different claimants to the throne might adopt.

As the country revellers of the morning straggled homeward in the evening, now mourners perchance, and some of them true to the ancient customs which made the days of mourning days also of absolute license, badly intoxicated, and spurring their jaded steeds up hill and down at a reckless speed, hugging their unfinished gin bottles with affectionate fondness as they rode, singing, shouting and swearing, they would reply, if asked as to their views on the succession, with an air of surprise at the question, that as a matter of course Lunalilo would be the new King.

On the next day the dead King lay in state in the throne-room of the Palace while his Ministers, his Staff, and the Chiefs of the realm kept watch over him, and sombre *kahilis* waving at his head beat a sad and silent dead-march for the crowds of people, subjects and aliens, who continuously filed through the apartment for a curious, farewell glance on the last of the Kamehamehas.

THE SUCCESSION TO THE THRONE.

On the day after the King's death his Cabinet Ministers issued an order, calling a meeting of the Legislature for the eighth of January for the purpose of electing a new king.

The possible candidates for the office were Prince William Charles Lunalilo, Mrs. Bernice Pauahi Bishop, Queen Dowager Emma, and Colonel Kalakaua. Of these, Prince Lunalilo held the highest rank and influence, his countrymen generally according him the position of highest chief by blood in the kingdom. He was about thirty-eight years old, had never married and was an educated and accomplished gentleman. During the late reign he had been unpopular with the administration, having been studiously slighted by the King and deprived of all honor, emolument, or participation in the government. His only official position remaining was the hereditary one of Noble, which gave him a seat in the upper side of the Legislature and which the Government was powerless to affect.

Mrs. Bishop was one of the highest of the chiefs of the kingdom. She was the wife of Mr. Charles R. Bishop, an American living in Honolulu, and enjoyed a wide popularity among the people.

Queen Emma, well known throughout the civilized world, was popular among the Hawaiians.

Colonel Kalakaua belonged to a family of rank and distinction among the chiefs of the kingdom. He was a man of education and industrious habits and during the late reign had held some civil position under the Government and had a commission in the Hawaiian army as a Colonel.

During the first few days after the King's death there were many indefinite rumors afloat in regard to these different individuals, about what they said; what others said about them; what they wanted and hoped for and what they did not want and hope for. Naturally also they became the subjects of much criticism. Their lives were reviewed, their characters were weighed and compared, and their respective capacity for guiding the ship of state discussed in all the possible relations of such questions. In all this agitation Prince Lunalilo appeared to hold the first place in the popular heart.

A large mass meeting which was held at the Kaumakapili church in Honolulu for the stated purpose of passing resolutions of condolence to the sister of the deceased King, after having performed that pious duty, proceeded at once to what was evidently the real object of the meeting, and passed a resolution amid general applause nominating the Prince as the successor to the throne. In other parts of the islands also many im-

promptu meetings were held and generally with the same result. No immediate step was taken by any of the candidates and the days succeeding the royal demise passed anxiously. There was no precedent in Hawaiian history for such an emergency, and many were alarmed lest during the interregnum, under the excitement of opposing political interests, with the large numbers of people who flocked to the capital, lawlessness might arise and acts of violence be perpetrated, and the more especially as in old times the death of a ruling chief was the signal for a carnival of unrestrained license of every kind; but the only instances of any remnant of this custom were the nightly mourning orgies in the Palace grounds, and a feeble mutiny in the national prison at Honolulu on the day of the King's death. On this occasion some of the prisoners rose on the jailer and attempted to escape, arguing that with the King's death law had ceased to exist, and logically concluding by virtue thereof that punishments also properly came to an end.

Business went on through these days apparently as usual. The courts of justice remained open and transacted their special duties; criminal cases were prosecuted in the name of the King the same as while he was living. Still, though there was no standstill in affairs, the shadow of a great crisis rested on the land. Vague, indefinite, and unknown, all men felt its gloom and looked anxiously forward to the end. Trade drooped under it and heavily and sullenly dragged its task through the hours of each slow-passing day. A hush of waiting for some uncomprehended solution muffled the din of traffic and forbade the merry music of festive reunions. Every evening from seven o'clock till midnight the spacious Palace grounds were open to the natives who thronged thither in crowds to offer their tribute of mourning for the dead King, who lay in his coffin in the throne-room of the Palace, guarded by detachments of the royal troops. Nightly till the funeral the sound of these lamentations rose on the air in every variety of requiem, from civilized psalm-tune chorals and sad, plaintive melodies of their own composition to the regular *kanikaus* and hopelessly despairing wails of the olden time, with their accompaniment of hula drums, gourd and bamboo timebeaters, and weird gesticulations.

LUNALILO'S MANIFESTO.

Matters continued in this unsatisfactory condition until the morning of the seventeenth of December, six days after the death of Kamehameha, when a manifesto was issued by Prince Lunalilo and scattered with the assistance of the press to the uttermost parts of the kingdom. In the following terms this chief submitted to the people his claims to the throne and, promising certain liberal measures, asked for their vote:

"To the Hawaiian Nation!"

"William C. Lunalilo, son of Kekauluohi, the daughter of Kamehameha I., to the Hawaiian people, greeting:

"Whereas, The Throne of the Kingdom has become vacant by the demise of His Majesty Kamehameha V., on the 11th of December, 1872, without a successor appointed or proclaimed; and,

"Whereas, It is desirable that the wishes of the Hawaiian people be consulted as to a successor to the Throne; therefore,

"Notwithstanding that according to the law of inheritance, I am the rightful heir to the Throne, in order to preserve peace, harmony and good order, I desire to submit the decision of my claim to the voice of the people to be freely and fairly expressed by a plebiscitum. The only pledge that I deem it necessary to offer to the people is that I will restore the Constitution of Kamehameha III. of happy memory, with only such changes as may be required to adapt it to present laws, and that I will govern the nation according to the principles of that Constitution and a liberal constitutional monarchy, which, while it preserves the proper prerogatives of the Crown, shall fully maintain the rights and liberties of the people.

"To the end proposed, I recommend the judges of the different election districts throughout the islands (thereby appealing to their ancient allegiance to the family of the Kamehamehas), to give notice that a poll will be opened on Wednesday, the 1st day of January, A. D. 1873, at which all male subjects of the kingdom may by their vote peaceably and orderly express their free choice for a king of the Hawaiian Islands as a successor of Kamehameha V. And that the said officers of the several election districts, do, on a count of the vote, make immediate

certified return of the same to the Legislative Assembly summoned to meet at Honolulu on the 8th day of January, 1873. That if any officer or officers of any election district shall refuse to act in accordance herewith, or if there shall be a vacancy in said offices in any district, the people may choose others in their places who may proceed in conformity to law in conducting the election.

“Given under my hand this 16th day of December, 1872.

“God protect Hawaii nei.”

An appeal so moderate, just, and democratic could hardly fail of being well received; and under the circumstances of Lunalilo's existing popularity and the prevailing anxiety for definite measures, no other step could have been taken with so favorable an effect upon his fortunes. The independent press warmly espoused his cause, and numbers of influential people committed themselves positively in his favor. The news of the reception of the manifesto on the other islands showed a similar enthusiasm for the Prince in every part of the group, and it began to be a settled thing in the minds of men that he was the unanimous choice of the nation. Still, however, some anxiety was felt as to the possible action of the Legislature in the matter, lest they might be influenced by other candidates to ignore the wishes of the people. As yet no open opposition was made to the popular feeling by his rivals, though some of them had their adherents, who did not hesitate to support them as opportunity offered.

During all this agitation, Prince Lunalilo kept himself closely at home, where he freely received those who, now that his star was rising, hastened in no inconsiderable numbers to pay their respects, to tender advice, and to ask favors of him who had till lately lived in comparative obscurity and neglect. With much patience and good nature, he would listen to his new friends and when they were ready to go would personally bow them out with that unflinching courtesy which was a prominent trait of his character.

ELECTIONEERING—MASS MEETING.

A few days after the appearance of the manifesto, a paper printed at the Government press for parties who were anony-

mous, was distributed secretly by night through the streets of Honolulu, of which the following is a translation:

"This Is the Truth!"

"On the 16th day of the present December, a proclamation was issued in this city, commencing as follows:—"I, Wm. C. Lunalilo, the son of Kekauluohi, the daughter of Kamehameha I., to the Hawaiian nation, greeting."

"Let the genealogists see, and they testify this: Kekauluohi was not a daughter of Kamehameha I. as asserted in the publication. But her line is after this manner: Kaleimamahu lived with Kaheiheimalie and Kekauluohi was born thence; and Kekauluohi lived with Charles Kanaina and thence was born the Chief Wm. C. Lunalilo.

"On the other side this is the real truth: Kamehameha I. (after the birth of Kekauluohi) lived with Kaheiheimalie and thence was born Kinau; Kinau lived with M. Kekuanaoa and thence was born the two Kings now deceased. But in regard to the relationship of Kamehameha I. to Kaleimamahu it is as follows: Keoua lived with Kekuiapoiwa thence was born Kamehameha I. Afterwards Keoua lived with Kamakaheikuli, and thence was born Kaleimamahu, the father of Kekauluohi. This also is the truth: Kamehameha I. lived with Kaekapolei thence was born Kaoleiohoku, a male, the first born of Kamehameha I. Kaoleiohoku lived with Keoua, a female, and thence was born Pauahi, which female chief lived with M. Kekuanaoa, thence was born the sister of the late King, Ruth Keelikolani. Kaoleiohoku further lived with Luahine, thence was born Kalani Pauahi.

"Oh people, you here have the truth, and the relationship of these chief families to Kamehameha.

"By the Skillful Genealogists."

"N. B.—By the foregoing genealogical accounts it will appear that the Chief Wm. C. Lunalilo is not a descendant of Kamehameha I."

No satisfactory conclusion can be made from the genealogical authorities of the Hawaiians. Jarves makes Lunalilo the grandson of Kaiana, the brother of Kaeo, an ancient King of Kauai, and Dibble makes Kaeo the uncle of Kamehameha I.

and he and the "skillful genealogists" agree in making Lunalilo the grandson of Kaleimamahu, who was the son of Keoua and half brother to Kamehameha I.

Whatever of truth or probability the foregoing publication may have contained, it was regarded by the people as a mean attack upon their favorite; and the secret manner of its distribution with its anonymous character added to this feeling. This evidence of opposition unknown in strength and working in secret had the effect very materially to stimulate the Lunalilo party, and the signs of its power and growth became more positive every day.

As the tide of popular feeling for the Prince increased, efforts to swell it to the utmost that it might sweep away all opposition assumed a more public character. The independent newspapers in both languages were covered with leaders and articles absolutely committing themselves to the fortunes of his party, and in which they boldly charged all opposition in such positive terms as to assume the enthronement of their candidate as a *fait accompli* and all hostility thereto as already treasonable. In the streets, and in the fish market at Honolulu, where at certain times large numbers of people congregated, stump orators from hitching-posts and fish counters harangued willing listeners and easily drew enthusiastic applause by a judicious use of the magic word, Luna-lilo.

Many who had hitherto wavered and refrained from supporting any candidate, and some who had openly opposed the Prince, now one by one declared in his favor. These changes of base by which discreet individuals endeavored to preempt in the fortunes of an inevitable destiny caused much irreverent amusement among the sagacious ones who had adhered to him from the first utterance of his claim.

About this time it was reported that the rival candidates, with the exception of Col. Kalakaua, had waived all claims to the Throne in favor of Lunalilo. There does not appear to be any evidence that Queen Emma made any effort toward the sovereignty or that she troubled herself at all about the matter or regarded her own prospects, and it conveys a false impression to speak of her as a candidate. And so far as definite report goes, the same is true of Mrs. Bernice Pauahi Bishop forasmuch as the King in his last severe attack just before his death, distinctly, but informally, proposed to her that she should be his

successor, which flattering offer she declined.

The number of people in Honolulu was materially increased during these days by additions from the other islands. Every steamer and sailing vessel that came into the harbor was crowded with men, women and children attracted thither by the political situation and the coming funeral of the late King.

On the evening of the twenty-sixth of December, a mass meeting called by a number of white and native citizens through the newspapers, was held at the Kaumakapili church. This building had been used a number of times during the interregnum for political meetings until it had acquired a character like that of Faneuil Hall in revolutionary days. When its bell, which hung in a low belfry of wood near the church-yard gate, was rung out of the usual hours, the natives all through the town would throw down whatever they had in their hands and leaving their work or amusements would run for the church, such was their interest in the politics of the times. On this occasion as the bell sounded forth its call, the people began to collect and at the appointed time half an hour later the church was filled with a dense crowd of which the great majority were Hawaiians. The stated object of the meeting was to take measures for the election on the first of January called for by the manifesto of Lunalilo, and for such consultation upon civil matters and such expression of opinion as might be appropriate. After the meeting was organized, two resolutions were passed referring to the vacancy of the Throne and the proposed election and calling upon all citizens of the district to assemble at the polls according to the suggestion of the manifesto on the first day of January to choose their King. The second resolution recommended that a committee of thirteen be chosen, who should make all necessary arrangements for the election, which was immediately acted upon, and the committee, including both natives and foreigners, was appointed by acclamation. A third resolution was then offered which read as follows:

“Resolved, that this meeting acknowledging the justice of the claims of His Highness Prince W. C. Lunalilo to the Throne of the Hawaiian Islands as the successor of His late Majesty Kamehameha V. and approving of his guarantee to restore the Constitution of the Hawaiian Islands, and to ‘fully maintain the rights and liberties of the people’ as stated in his manifesto of the 16th of December, 1872, express their hearty support

of His said Highness Prince W. C. Lunalilo, as a candidate to the Throne of the Hawaiian Islands."

After several speeches this was passed with much applause. Next followed a motion by Mr. Whitney, editor of the *Kuokoa*, a native weekly newspaper:

"Resolved, that we the people do hereby instruct our four Representatives in the Legislative Assembly to vote for Prince W. C. Lunalilo for King, and for no one else."

This was instantly adopted with the most uproarious enthusiasm.

Mr. Whitney then related an incident of the infancy of the Prince:

Mr. Bingham, who was about to perform the ceremony of baptism, asked, "What shall we call the child?" "Kanaina," the father replied, "William Charles Kanaina." "No," objected his mother, the noble Kekauluohi; "he is the highest chief in all the islands, therefore his name shall be Luna-lilo," or "out of sight above," as Mr. Whitney translated it.

This little narrative "brought down the house" in a wonderful manner; all present stood up, swinging hats and handkerchiefs and shouting in the most tumultuous way. The work of the meeting being then satisfactorily accomplished, with three grand cheers for Lunalilo, the great audience broke up. The effect of this assembly was healthy in its influences upon the politics of the time. It was significant of the earnestness of the people and helped to silence those who ridiculed the idea of a popular election for a King.

KALAKAUA'S MANIFESTO

Two days after the meeting, a manifesto was issued by Col. Kalakaua, copies of which were liberally distributed in Honolulu and forwarded to the other islands. It was worded in the old figurative and poetical style and is interesting as a specimen battle-call of the Hawaiian pre-civilized age. The following is a translation of this document:

"O my people! My countrymen from Old! Arise! This is the voice!

"Ho! all ye tribes. Ho! my own ancient people! The people who took hold and built up the Kingdom of the Kamehamehas; from the first blow struck at the water Keomo, to the complete union of the islands at the sea beach of Kuloloia (Ho-

nolulu). Arise! This is the voice! Ho! Maui of Kuimeheua the great! Ho! Maui of Kamalalawalu of Kihapiilani also! Ho! Molokai lofty of Hina! Ho! land of Kaulu! Ho! Kauai of Mano, of my ancestors gone! Arise! Turn ye! Here is the voice!

“Ho! the relatives of Keaweaheulu, of Kameeiamoku and Kamanawa, they who met the hardships, the hunger, and the weariness of the spear and the implements of war. Our blood flowed first and our bodies were scarred in the creation of this House, and the securing of the peace now enjoyed. We created this Government. **HERE IS THE VOICE! ARISE AND LISTEN!**

“At this time, while the night watch and the sacred mourning of affection is held over the corpse of our House-finder, our last Lord, the last one of the Kamehamehas—behold the sacred threshold of Liloa is shaken, the symbolic chain of Ahaula is broken, it is dragged down by the unworthy, it is overthrown and lies face downward, its tabus are trodden on; its sleeping great one, who sleeps the long sleep—his tabus are broken. Thus while we are mourning comes a voice grating on the ear as of a howling crowd; disturbing the thoughts of the hearer, distracting the mind; it pours out thus: ‘Ho! the Hawaiian nation! William C. Lunalilo, the son of Kekauluohi, the daughter of Kamehameha I.,’ &c. A vote to be taken on the first day of January, 1873, for a King for the throne of the Kamehamehas.

“O Uli (thou god)! Regard not this! It is not we who have sprung forward to mock and to treat with contempt the corpse of our beloved King who now sleeps. It is those who treat thee with contempt, and we bid them farewell forever.

“Let me direct you, my people. Do nothing contrary to the law or against the peace of the Kingdom. Do not go and vote, and do not trammel the labors of your representatives; it will be opposing their authority and powers on the 8th of January, on which day the legislature is to meet and choose a successor to the throne. Do not be led by foreigners; they had no part in our hardships in gaining the country. Do not be led by their false teachings, as a hog with a string in his nose is led ignorantly along to the oven prepared to cook him. Stand fast! Stand firm! Be men and fearless! Give not up your rights and privileges to others. The reign of the Kamehamehas is ended; the country, the government which we labored

and strove to create has returned to us. Be patient and wait, my people, until Kamehameha V. is entombed. The one absorbing affair before us,—our last Lord. The land is full of bitterness of grief; the chiefs are the same. For this reason I will be silent and still, but my mind is full of conflicting emotions to see the things that are done in despite of our King. Before his beloved body is out of sight, behold how his bones are mocked. Beware, or the words of the Gospel may apply to us. 'They parted my raiment among them, and for my vesture they did cast lots.'

"I shall not now speak of the senseless things that are being done, but as you have earnestly pressed me to present my views as to the condition of affairs and for the good of the Hawaiian people; and because I have an ancient right to the throne, from the birth of Keaweikekahialii over Maui of Kama, Oahu of Kakuhihewa down to Kauai of Manokalanipo: therefore, I ask you to hear me: I am of the first-born, you are of the second-born of the same ancestors:

"The Platform of My Government!"

"1. I shall obey the advice of our ancestor of Keaweahu, my grandfather, which he gave to Kamehameha I., to be a rule for his government:

"'The old men, the old women and the children shall lie in safety on the highways.'

"2. To preserve and increase the people, so that they shall multiply and fill the land with chiefs and common people.

"3. To repeal all the personal taxes, about which the people complain.

"4. To put native Hawaiians into Government offices, so as to pay off the national debt.

"5. The amending of the Constitution of 1864. The desires of the people will be obtained by a true agreement between the people and the occupant of the throne.

"Beware of the Constitution of 1852 and the false teachings of the foreigners who are now grasping to obtain the control of the government if W. C. Lunalilo ascends the throne. In this way the country narrowly escaped in 1853, shortly after the passage of the Constitution of 1852. It was when Kamehameha III. was sick that he was urged to sign the transfer of the

country to America. Do not listen to the deceiver! Do not slight my words! As we are now in a time of mourning, I am therefore brief, not to tire you, and that you may be sure of the warning voice which now echoes on all sides. After my lamented lord and father is buried, I shall again issue my views with bravery and without flinching and subserviency.

“Let the sound of voices be hushed.

“Rest ye, oh people;

“The tabu is kept.

“Wait until my voice is again raised, and ponder well upon what is here said. Ho! ye women, my family, turn ye your husbands and tell them not to part with the rights of our ancestors. And tell them to be ready when I call again!

“In the inspiring words of our forefathers, a call to guard well our rights now threatened, then

“Arise O people!

“To the front!

“Drink the waters of bitterness!

“DAVID KALAKAUA.”

“Honolulu, Dec. 28, 1872.”

It was of no use. This elaborate message fell upon the community without effect. It was a failure as a proclamation and only valuable as a curiosity. The time had passed for attempts of such a nature against the widespread feeling for Lunalilo. After his master-stroke,—his liberal manifesto, with his previous popularity, something more than a printed circular was essential for successful opposition. This effort of the Colonel, made just before the first of January, was without doubt intended to defeat, if possible, the carrying out of the election on that day.

THE PLEBISCITUM.

The committee of thirteen were not idle after their appointment at the meeting of the 26th of December. Prominent advertisements and posters in both languages proclaimed to the people of the district the necessary information and called upon all Hawaiians, native born and naturalized, over twenty years of age, the age of majority for men, to cast their ballots for their King at the polls of the people, upon the first of January. In

the late regime a property qualification had been a condition of the voting privilege, but on this occasion citizenship was the only requirement.

There were still, on the eve of the election, enemies and skeptics who sneered at the enterprise and prophesied a failure. They asserted that the people would not respond, with the exception of a few partisans, and that their vote, even though unanimous, would express nothing as regarded national sentiment. These individuals, moulded under the ideas of the late despotic reign, were unable to appreciate the principle of civil power originating with the people or to understand the force of united popular will; and they doubted the influence of the election even if it should be universally attended.

The first of January arrived and being a national holiday, the only business carried on was that of voting. Even the usual festive observances of the day were neglected for the one matter of absorbing interest. Early in the forenoon a crowd had gathered at the polling place and the balloting went quietly and rapidly on, and in a manner full of earnestness and determination, many prominent citizens and high officials of the Government depositing their ballots along with humble Hawaiians fresh from their ancestral taro-patches. In the afternoon the voting slackened somewhat, and the crowd around the polls were alternately instructed and amused by the delphic utterances of impromptu stump orators who found it easy work to sway the popular mind in favor of the hero of the day. There was little or no open electioneering for Col. Kalakaua, and the supporters of Prince Lunalilo seemed to have things all their own way. About the middle of the afternoon a company of the Household Troops marched to the polls and deposited their ballots. At five o'clock the voting ceased and the crowd who had passed the day in unfailing good nature, remained to hear the result. Every minute increased its numbers till at half-past six, when the counting of the ballots was completed, the street was filled with a dense mass of people, natives and foreigners, quietly waiting for the announcement of the vote.

When the judges of the election came out at last and proclaimed the casting of a number of ballots, larger than had ever been polled in the district during the late reign, and all for Prince Lunalilo, the feelings of the listening crowd broke forth in repeated and enthusiastic shouts which rang from the street, where they stood almost unobservable in the gathering darkness

of the night, and proclaimed the news of the victory far and wide over the city. The excitement of the people was intense and they were in a mood to finish the work of conferring royalty by immediately marching in a body to the residence of the Prince, in order to carry him to the Palace of Iolani and install him there as King by popular acclamation. But the Prince having feared some manifestation of this kind had sent word to the judges of election that they should request the people to go quietly home and wait till the election in the Legislative Assembly, after which he would be happy to receive them at the Palace. An uproarious cheer was their answer and then the main part of the concourse started off through the streets, hallooing and singing, as noisy and demonstrative a rabble as the town had often seen.

The returns from the other islands exhibited similar unanimity and enthusiasm in almost every elective district. The whole nation with but a few scattering exceptions, had united in nominating Lunalilo for King.

THE LEGISLATIVE ELECTION FOR KING.

As the eighth of January drew near, rumors began to circulate to the effect that Col. Kalakaua was making every effort to influence the legislators in his favor, and much uneasiness was felt lest the election of the 1st should be reversed by the action of the Legislature, in which case there seemed little doubt but that serious civil disorder would ensue. On the afternoon of Monday, the 6th, these rumors developed into definite reports, and it was stated that Hon. Mr. Kipi, a member from Hawaii of considerable influence, had been gained over by Col. Kalakaua. Later in the evening several more members were reported to have followed Mr. Kipi.

Kalakaua had staked his hopes on the legislative election. It does not appear that he entered the election of the first of January as a candidate, but simply strove by his proclamation and in other ways to cause its failure.

Tuesday had been appointed for the funeral of the late King, but after the troops and people began to assemble for the procession, the clouds which had been gathering on the mountains through the morning darkened the whole sky and poured down a copious shower which scattered the gathered mourners and caused the funeral to be postponed until Saturday. In the evening the accounts of the recreancy of Representatives became

more definite and alarming, and it seemed doubtful whether the election of the Prince could be carried, especially as it was believed that a considerable number of the Nobles were unfavorable to him. The excitement in the city of Honolulu both among natives and foreigners was great, and the morrow was awaited with anxious foreboding.

The eighth of January opened with a bright, calm morning. All business was given up to the one work of the day,—the settlement of the succession to the throne. During the forenoon the streets were filled with groups of people of all classes and races, eagerly talking over the coming event. The latest rumors as to the position of the different Representatives were discussed with discouraging conclusions. The Nobles were weighed in the balance of public opinion, but without brightening the prospect. Actual fighting was regarded as inevitable should the election reverse the vote of the 1st. Many prepared themselves for emergencies by arming.

Early in the morning Prince Lunalilo, with a number of his friends, debated the prospects of the day and the possible results. Little satisfaction was gained from this consultation. They were unable to count enough undoubted supporters in the Assembly to ensure the election. The Prince was grave and anxious. He was aware of the spirit of the people and that it was their resolute determination to greet him as King that day. No one could divine all that might happen.

At the same time quite a different scene was taking place at Kalakaua's house. The gallant Colonel was preparing himself and his friends for the fortunes of the day over the viands of a well-appointed breakfast, to which a number of the Representatives and others had been invited. The affair was generally regarded as a political move, but whatever may have been the intention, the meal passed off in an ordinary manner and little was said about the claims of the rivals to the throne. The number present was small.

Noon was the time fixed for the sitting of the Legislature and as it drew near the current of movement in the streets tended toward the court house; many of the crowd were armed with stones and cudgels and some with revolvers, borne with a grim determination to see the question settled immediately and their choice proclaimed as King in one way if not in another. They thronged into the court house square and surrounded the building, where they quietly waited for such instruction as events

might afford. When the doors of the audience division of the legislative hall were opened, those nearest thronged in and filled it at once. At noon the Assembly was called to order. Nearly all of the members were in their seats. A few moments later a tumultuous cheering from the crowd outside announced the arrival of the Prince, who had walked over from his residence with two or three friends. When he entered the hall, the audience arose and welcomed him with hearty shouts.

Business was opened by the presentation and reading by the Cabinet of the late King of documents relating to his demise and to their subsequent official action. The motion was then made that the Legislature proceed immediately to the election of a king from among the chiefs of the kingdom, according to the provision of the Constitution for a vacancy in the succession; when this was passed, Lunalilo left the hall, and awaited the result in an adjoining room. As the members had taken their seats they had each received an autograph letter from Col. Kalakaua, stating his claim to the throne as being a member of an ancient and honorable line of Hawaiian chieftains, and requesting their votes in the ensuing election. The letter was manly in its tone and couched in simple and appropriate language quite different from his gorgeous manifesto of the twenty-eighth of December. He was not present through the proceedings, but remained at the Palace with the military on guard over the still unburied corpse of the late King. Another paper printed over the signature of "The People" was also distributed among the members reminding them of the national decision of New Year's day and suggesting that they should all sign their names to their ballots that it might be known who, if any, should try to thwart the wishes of the people.

For the more successful carrying out of this suggestion, Mr. Simon Kaai, member from Hawaii, made the extraordinary motion that each member should sign his name to the back of his ballot. After some trifling opposition from Mr. Kipi and one or two others, the motion was carried with little or no dissent in the show of hands. It is undeniable that the threatening and determined aspect of the concourse of people in and around the building awed the positive opposition, which certainly existed, into apparent compliance.

The balloting took place immediately upon the passage of this resolution. The members being called off by the clerk went up one by one to the table and deposited their votes. Then one

of the tellers read them off with the signatures endorsed upon them. It was a thrilling moment. The audience in the hall and the great crowd outside were as silent as the grave and almost breathless with excitement. The first ballot was told off "Lunalilo for King." The next was the same; and the next. As each one was reported, the result was signalled by those who thronged the open windows to the people below. So the telling went on in the hushed stillness of the great assembly, till as the number reached a bare majority and thus far all for Lunalilo, a cheer came up from the grounds, and, gathering strength, burst in a deafening roar which rose and fell like the crisis of a storm; the outskirts of the crowd took up the refrain and the streets leading into the square sent on their answering shouts. Never before had the capital been the scene of equal enthusiasm. The whole city echoed with the triumphant acclamations, and suburbanites miles away listened to the hearty welcome of the new King.

When the counting of ballots was over in the hall, showing a unanimous vote for Lunalilo, the audience arose and hailed the result in a manner which was an echo of the outside enthusiasm. In a few minutes the King appeared on the western balcony of the court house and was vociferously welcomed by the dense throng of his new subjects below. He made a short speech both in the Hawaiian and English languages; and then, dispensing with the carriages that were awaiting him, set out for Iolani, the Palace, on foot; but he did not go alone; there was, indeed, no military cortege; no drums and bugles announced his progress; no uniforms and feathers lent their glory to this triumphal march. Bareheaded and reverently the King walked, with the Chancellor of the Kingdom at his side, while the people did him honorable escort. The great crowd who gave him his first welcome as King, surged around him in solid mass as he went, and thus the imposing procession moved through the streets, citizens all, vanguard and rearguard and heralded only by the hearty hurrahs of the populace.

When night came the town blazed with illuminations, and a huge torchlight procession, organized by the patriotic German club, wound its dazzling way through the place for hours.

THE CORONATION—THE FUNERAL.

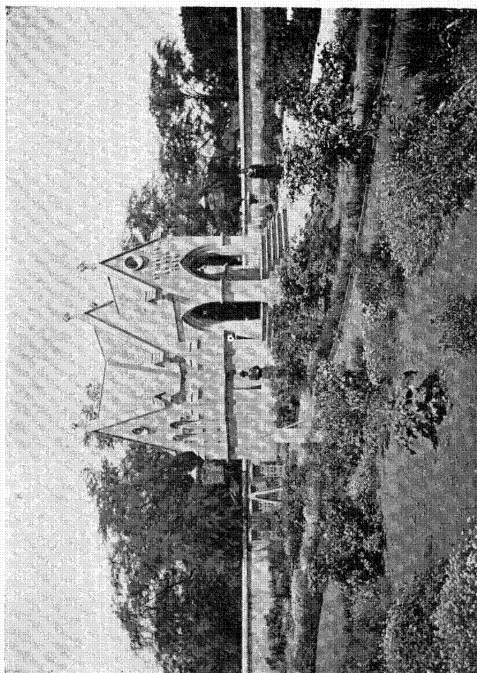
The thirty days are almost over. Their work is accomplished. Hawaiian citizenship is vindicated. A step upward

is achieved. It remains but to mention the attendant ceremonies of the opening of the new regime and the closing of the old.

The morning comes with the usual tropic brilliancy. The whole community is astir. Everybody is out for the grateful work of the day. Flags flutter gaily from staffs and masts. The interior of the great stone church shines with flags and flowers. The people, their guests,—the commissioners, navymen and strangers from other lands,—their nobles and rulers, themselves, the king-makers, with their wives and children gather in the pews and galleries and throng the aisles and fill the church-yard. The soldiery of the kingdom make a lane to the church door. At noon the King with a few officials of high rank and attended by the glittering staff of the late king, comes on foot to the church and passes up the aisle to the platform; his arrival is greeted with acclamations. The ceremony is rather like the inauguration of a president than the coronation of a king. The Hawaiians have no ancestral crown, but the splendid emblem of sovereignty, the royal feather robe, is laid over the throne, and seated upon its shining folds, Lunalilo the King receives the glad recognition of his subjects, while discharges of artillery from Punchbowl and the men-of-war add their loud acclaim. After the oath of office is sworn, the King delivers addresses to the Legislature and to the people in both languages. It is an impressive scene; the young King, dressed in plain black, with his fine and commanding figure and dignified bearing, surrounded by the attendant officials in brilliant uniforms, and the enthusiastic assembly in holiday attire. The aid and blessing of the King of Kings is besought in earnest words of prayer, and then the venerable old church is left to its own week-day solitude.

Again the city is wholly given up to rejoicing. Again as the sun goes down, lights flash from villa and cottage and the army of torches drives the night before it through the streets.

One more day. The remains of His late Majesty are on the way to their unseasonable burial. The procession is imposing with military display, and well-appointed arrangements. Home and foreign officials tread the dead march in their places with manner of appropriate solemnity. Stately *kahilis* move in gloomy majesty around the funeral car. Out from under the black pall which half hides the splendid coffin, flashes the golden sheen of the royal feather cloak. The national band laments the



LUNALILO'S TOMB

dead in classic strains from the old masters. And yet few unofficial mourners follow the pageant. The people are there as spectators mainly and line the roadside instead of making a part of the procession. Joy rather than sorrow is the popular expression, and as the new King passes as chief mourner, scarce can the shouts of the roadside throngs be restrained in spite of the solemnity of the occasion. When the funeral ceremonies are ended, the last prayer said, the volleys fired, the black *kahilis* placed standing before the Mausoleum door, then the prevailing joy and gladness break forth and Lunalilo rides back to his Palace and the duties of his reign with the jubilant acclaim of a spontaneous ovation of his subjects.

The Constitutional Convention of 1894

BY FRANCIS M. HATCH

An important and vital chapter in the story of Hawaii is that of the events surrounding the holding of the convention, which was provided for by a law enacted by the councils of the Provisional Government in 1894, to frame a constitution, and establish a government on permanent lines, for Hawaii.

The President of the United States in March, 1893, having withdrawn from consideration by the Senate the annexation treaty which had been negotiated by President Harrison, and having received a confidential report from Mr. James H. Blount, who had been sent to Hawaii as the President's personal representative, had announced that he held that the Provisional Government had no legal existence; that the Queen had been deprived of her throne in part by the action of the armed forces of the United States, and that he held it his duty to restore her to the throne. That purpose he thereupon proceeded to carry out. The first news of this intention which reached Honolulu came in an Australian newspaper. The news had been given out in Washington on the supposition that by that time the directions of the President had been carried into effect by his resident Minister, Mr. Albert T. Willis.

Immediately another of the mass-meetings, which were characteristic of the proceedings of the supporters of the Provisional Government, gathered itself together. It was purely spontaneous, with no cut-and-dried programme; the speeches were entirely extemporaneous; and the whole tone of the meeting was that of consultation rather than denunciation. It was a meeting of the business men of the town and of its mechanics and workmen without distinction of race. There was no noisy enthusiasm. The meeting was a solemn one, the consciousness that a great crisis had arrived was impressed upon all before coming together. In fact it was a town meeting in the best New England sense; of the kind which were common at the time of the revolution. As the meeting progressed a wave of indignation took possession of it. This was addressed not so much to the policy of restoration, as to the assumption by the

President of the United States that the matter had been submitted to him as an arbitrator. This was wholly gratuitous, and had in it such evident intent unfairly to hold Mr. Dole and his associates up to public odium in case they should not submit, as persons who would not stand by an award which had happened to go against them, that denunciation of this feature became as emphatic as the limits of extemporaneous thought would permit. One speaker argued that the recognition which had been accorded by President Harrison to the Provisional Government gave to that government a status before the world which could not be recalled by a successor of the President; that in fact that recognition was as irrevocable as the proclamation of emancipation. This view subsequently met the approval of the members of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations who added a supplemental statement to Senator Morgan's report.

The demand of the President was not limited to the pressure brought to bear by the diplomatic representative of the United States. For some days shore leave had been suspended on the U.S.S. "Philadelphia." The few men who came ashore were in landing rig, with leggings and other equipment not worn in the usual routine of life aboard ship. Small arms, field pieces and other shore outfit were piled upon the decks, and all boats were in the water. This obvious preparation for invasion was met by barricading the Executive building with sandbags, and posting a guard to signal to headquarters the start of the boats for the shore. That this was not an empty show of force is proved by a letter from the British Minister to Mr. Dole. It is obvious that this official's means of information, from the British Embassy at Washington and from Downing street, were accurate and up to the moment. Any merely scare programme of the Executive in Washington would not have called forth this letter. Major Wodehouse on December 18, 1893, wrote: "Sir, I have the honour to inform your excellency that as circumstances may render it necessary at any moment to land a force from H.B.M.'s Ship 'Champion' for the purpose of furnishing a guard for His Britannic Majesty's Legation, I ask you to be good enough to give orders to the officers in command of the troops of the Hawaiian Provisional Government not to offer any obstruction to the landing of such force." This is the language used when a state of war is actually occurring.

Though the President's scheme for the restoration of the

Queen had failed for the time being, the situation was one of great peril. It was evident that during the three remaining years of President Cleveland's term the Provisional Government could hope for no aid from the United States in the difficulties which surrounded it on all sides. The provisional form of government had had its day. Its very form invited interference from abroad. The occasion called for a further grant of power from the brave men from whom, as President Dole informed Minister Willis, he had derived the powers he was exercising as the head of the Hawaiian government. The idea of a permanent form of government gained favor. A law was enacted providing for the election of delegates to a convention to be held for the purpose of adopting a constitution and establishing a Republic on permanent lines. The convention was frankly a war measure in part. It was considered that a Republic, if it should receive recognition from the great powers, would be in a much stronger position, and could not be wiped out by act of the President alone. At least authority would have to be obtained from Congress to attack it. This came to pass exactly as hoped. The Republic of Hawaii was proclaimed. Full recognition from abroad followed promptly from all quarters. The note from the Russian Foreign Office, departing from mere formality, had some cordial expression touching anticipated annexation to the United States.

The convention assembled May 30th, 1894. Its deliberation extended over a period of thirty-five days, having held twenty-four sittings. The constitution which was the child of its deliberations has the distinction of being the only Hawaiian constitution which had been considered in convention.

The constitution of 1852 was the voluntary grant of Kamehameha III. By it he stripped himself of a large part of the despotic power he had inherited from Kamehameha I., the conqueror. A convention was called in 1864 to frame a new constitution. Kamehameha V., not liking the tone of the discussions and tiring of the protracted debates, dismissed the convention and proclaimed the constitution of 1864, drawn to suit himself. The revision in 1887, as stated, was procured by force.

The convention was cosmopolitan in membership and represented a wide field of views; from conservative, which was in large preponderance, to a rather extreme Socialistic stand on the part of an American member of German descent. Of

the thirty-five members, six were native Hawaiian, fourteen Hawaiian-born Americans, four Americans, six British, two German, three Portuguese.

The press of the day commented upon the absence from the opening ceremonies of the British Minister, who declined the invitation to be present. The occasion was honored by the presence of Admiral John G. Walker, U. S. N., and staff; Captain Barker, U.S.S. "Philadelphia"; the Captain of the Japanese warship "Takahiho"; the Justices of the Supreme Court of Hawaii; Mr. L. A. Thurston, Hawaiian Minister at Washington; and Mr. R. W. Irwin, Hawaiian Minister at Tokyo.

Many advanced ideas were submitted to the convention, among others a petition for woman suffrage. The International Schutzen Club, describing itself as "nucleus of a future vast political organization" (apparently a forerunner of the I. W. W.'s) asked to put itself on record in a long petition setting out its views. They were willing to grant woman suffrage if women, being given men's privileges, accept men's hardships; and shoulder arms and do military duty in time of riot and war. (This would not meet Lord Kitchener's views.) They also objected to a property qualification for Senators because "class legislation" was "the gridiron with which monopolists would burn the mark of the serf deep in the flesh of free men."

President Dole, in his closing remarks at the session held after the Constitution had been adopted and the Republic of Hawaii had been publicly proclaimed, which took place on the morning of July 4th, referred to the fact that rumors of attack upon the convention had been persistent and most circumstantial, but had had no influence upon the quiet routine followed in the performance of their duties. Also that an unexpected result had followed in that as the meetings of the convention had been reported in the press a great wave of sympathy seemed to have swept the United States.

The convention at least put an end to the accusation that the Provisional Government consisted of eighteen men representing nobody. That a convention of delegates could be formally convened and could conduct its deliberations over a period of thirty days without protest from any quarter established to the world the fact that the Republic of Hawaii had taken its place in the world without disorder and without show of armed force. It was a government accepted by the community.

The issue of overpowering importance before the convention,

which put all other questions in the shade, was that of the qualifications of voters. Royalists were squarely barred out. All other voters who were qualified under the previous constitution, who might take the oath to support the Republic, were admitted to the lists. This settled the question as to native Hawaiians. They could hold aloof or could come in at any time, individually or in groups, as they saw fit. But the difficulty did not stop there. Mr. Dole had hardly been seated in office when, on the 23d of March, 1893, he was confronted with a demand from Mr. Fujii Saburo, Japanese Consul-General and Diplomatic agent, that the vote should be given to all the Japanese in the country. The tone was peremptory, the note closing with the statement that "the Japanese government trusts that there will be no unnecessary delay in answering this communication."

Here was a thunderbolt from an unexpected quarter. The issue was of far more serious importance than that of the restoration of monarchy. Gentlemen who cry for peace at any price, and are distressed at the thought of wounding the susceptibilities of a proud nation, would have found no difficulty in acceding to the demand. But to accede, at that moment in Hawaiian history, would have hoisted automatically the Japanese flag over Hawaii. In order to be able to form any adequate idea of the gravity of the situation a brief review of the relations existing between Japan and Hawaii is necessary. What follows is entirely from the records of the Hawaiian Foreign Office, now preserved by the Archives Commission.

Diplomatic relations between the countries began with the treaty of amity and commerce in 1871.

Scarcity of agricultural labor led Mr. Chas. R. Bishop, Minister of Foreign Affairs, to request an investigation by the Hawaiian Consul in Tokyo of the possibility of obtaining such laborers from Japan. This was in January, 1874. Nothing came of it.

In Septemoer, 1879, John M. Kapena, Minister of Foreign Affairs, took up the same subject, going deeply into the matter with Mr. Harlan T. Lillibridge, Hawaiian Consul-General at Tokio.

On January 18th, 1881, William Lowthian Green, Minister of Foreign Affairs, notified the Hawaiian Consul-General in Japan that His Majesty, Kalakaua, would visit Japan in the course of his tour of the world, and would be accompanied by William Nevins Armstrong, Royal Commissioner of Immigra-

tion. Mr. Armstrong initiated negotiations with the Japanese government looking to the forming of a supplementary treaty on the subject of labor emigration from Japan to Hawaii.

In 1882 the matter was followed up, John M. Kapena being accredited to the Court of the Mikado as Minister Plenipotentiary for the sole purpose of continuing the negotiations for labor immigration.

In 1883, Col. C. P. Iaukea, returning via Asia from missions to the Court of St. James, and to St. Petersburg, was specially accredited to the Court at Japan as Minister Plenipotentiary, etc., etc., for the same purpose. Mr. Walter Murray Gibson, then Hawaiian Minister of Foreign Affairs, on December 1st, 1883, instructed him as follows: "You will please impress upon the mind of the Minister the very exceptional character of these proposals, and the evidence they afford of the high value His Majesty's government place upon the *friendly alliance* between this country and Japan, and upon the Japanese race as a *re-populating element*."

On April 1st, 1884, Mr. Gibson writes to R. W. Irwin, Hawaiian Consul-General in Japan: "I beg you will not relax your efforts to secure the immigration to which His Majesty's government attaches so much importance as a *national object*."

On July 1, 1884, Mr. Gibson writes to Mr. Irwin: "I have enclosed private letter to Count Inouye."

On May 28, 1885, Mr. Irwin wrote to Count Inouye: "The Hawaiian Government will be responsible for wages of voluntary passengers during the period of guarantee, 25% of the same to be deposited with the Minister of Finance, to bear interest at 5%. All subject to the control of the Japanese Consul."

On July 22, 1885, Mr. Gibson wrote to Count Inouye: "I desire in the first place to assure your Excellency that owing to the strong desire of Hawaii to settle upon her soil a kindred and kindly people, like the Japanese, this government is most anxious to meet the views and requirements of Japan on all points.

"The next point upon which your Excellency's letter touches is that of Chinese immigration into Hawaii."

(Report Min. of For. Aff. 1886, pp. cxlv and cxlvii.)

On (Feb. 1, 1886) the 20th day of the 1st mo. of the 19th year of Meeji, Count Inouye writes to Irwin: "The several engagements which His I. J. Majesty's government desire to

"have remain undisturbed by the convention are:

- "1. Note from you to myself, May 28th, 1885.
- "2. Precis of two interviews, July 18th and July 25th, 1885, between Mr. Gibson and Mr. K. Inouye.
- "3. Note from Mr. Gibson to myself, July 22, 1885.
- "4. Note from Mr. Gibson to K. Inouye, July 25, 1885."

He further states. "It is due to frankness, etc., to point out to you the desire of H. I. J. Govmt. to obtain prior to the conclusion of an Emigration Convention a categorical confirmation of the guarantees already given by His Hawaiian Majesty's government, and an equally definite acceptance of the subsidiary engagement formulated in this connection."

On January 21, 1886, Mr. R. W. Irwin, Hawaiian Consul-General at Tokio, wrote to Count Inouye: "I accept unreservedly the terms and conditions laid down in Your Excellency's communication of yesterday, and am prepared to sign the Emigration Convention."

Mr. Gibson, Minister of Foreign Affairs, wrote to Count Inouye March 5th, 1886: "Mr. Irwin has called my attention to the letter addressed by Your Excellency to him on the 20th of January last in which your Excellency stipulates for the acknowledgment by His Majesty's government of certain obligations embodied in documents therein referred to as a preliminary to the signature of the Convention. Mr. Irwin unreservedly accepted these stipulations and I have now the honor to accept his engagement and to confirm on the part of His Majesty's government the several subsidiary agreements referred to insofar as may be consonant with the constitution of the Kingdom and His Majesty's treaty obligations with Foreign Powers.

(Report Min. of For. Aff., 1886, p. clxx.)

On the 1st day of the 6th month of the 18th year of Meiji, Count Okuma writes to Mr. Irwin acknowledging the receipt of his letter of May 28, 1885, and saying:

"I accept your assurances in these regards as well as in other particulars specified in your communication as an authorized statement of the obligations which your government assumes in the premises, and I shall regard the understanding as binding on our respective governments, subject to the right of revoking the same either in whole or in part, which is specifically reserved to me."

Then followed the signing of the Labor Convention between

the two countries. It was promulgated in Hawaii on March 8th, 1886. Emigration from Japan to Hawaii began shortly after, and was continued under the terms of the convention until 1914. The Japanese population in Hawaii was increased from approximately 40 in 1885 to 20,000 in 1894.

Up to the time of the signing of the Convention it can not be said that Japan had shown any disposition to force her people upon Hawaii. Untiring efforts on the part of Kalakaua's Ministers were necessary in order to bring about the arrangement.

A letter from Mr. Irwin, dated December 6th, 1891, to Samuel Parker, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Liliuokalani being then upon the Throne, makes clear this one of the confidential assurances:

"I would most respectfully call your Excellency's attention to a matter which has much exercised the Japanese Govmt. "It was a condition of the Emigration Convention of March 6, 1886, that if sufficient Japanese laborers were obtainable, no more Chinese laborers would be imported. This was solemnly "promised by His late Majesty and by Premier Gibson." * * * "The Japanese Government considers it a danger to their relations with the Chinese government which are always very delicate." * * *

"The same reason in my opinion applies to Indians or other "coolies."

(Report Min. of For. Aff., 1892, p. 98.)

The first written demand for the vote on behalf of Japanese in Hawaii appears to have been made in 1888. Jonathan Austin, Minister of Foreign Affairs, writes to R. W. Irwin under date of Jan. 2, 1889, acknowledging receipt of Count Okuma's letters of September 29th and December 15th, 1888, on the subject of the electoral franchise under the constitution of 1887. Mr. Austin wrote an elaborate and exhaustive dispatch showing why Hawaii could not accede to the claim made. He did not, however, satisfy the Japanese Foreign Office.

"Japan's position was unassailable on the merits, that there was direct hostile discrimination against her in the constitutional provisions of 1887 in regard to voters.

The treaty of 1871 in section two contains this language:

"The subjects of each country * * * may trade * * * in all "kinds of produce, manufactures and merchandise of lawful "commerce, enjoying at all times the same privileges as may

“have been, or may hereafter be, granted to the citizens or subjects of other nations doing business or residing within the territories of each of the high contracting parties.”

The constitution of 1864 in section 62 provided that “every male subject” who complied with certain requirements might vote.

The constitution of 1887 changed this to read as follows: “Every male resident of the Kingdom of Hawaiian, American, or European birth or descent who shall have taken an oath to support the constitution and laws * * * and shall know how to read or write either the Hawaiian, English or some European language, * * * might vote.”

The constitution of 1887, although the Kingdom was in a state of profound peace, was extorted at the point of the bayonet. Great evils of administration had developed, and a short cut remedy by mass meeting was resorted to. The opportunity was taken advantage of by the leaders of the movement apparently with most casual deliberation, if any at all, to change the fundamental law in regard to the franchise. The experiment was most perilous in this instance, and nearly wrecked the Kingdom.

December 19, 1890, Mr. Irwin applied to the Japanese Foreign Office for some slight reduction in the charges established by Japan in connection with the emigration under the convention.

Viscount Suizo Aoki, under date of Jan. 21, 1891, replies: * * * “I should however remind your Excellency of a question which is still pending between us, although several communications were exchanged on the subject some years since. I refer to the question of the privileges to be enjoyed by Japanese subjects in Hawaii under the terms of the treaty between the two countries and involving the electoral franchise in that Kingdom.”

Then came the demand made upon Mr. Dole by Mr. Fujii March 23, 1893, above referred to.

On April 27, 1893, Mr. Irwin writes to Mr. Dole: “The Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs, owing to strong current of public opinion in Japan, demands right of vote for Japanese.” Also: “Mr. Mutsu desired me to inform your Excellency that in the event of a permanent government being established in Hawaii, His Imperial Majesty’s Government indulged in the hope and *expectation* that Japanese residing

"in Hawaii should have the same civil rights, including the electoral franchise, extended to them as would hereafter be extended to, and enjoyed by, American, English or German citizens residing in Hawaii." Mr. Irwin concludes with the observation that "this matter may endanger our great industrial emigration convention."

Mr. Irwin wrote again on July 13, 1893. He said: A very large public meeting was held in Tokio on the 10th inst. at which speeches were made by Mr. Hoshi, President of the House of Representatives, and others, urging the Japanese Government to press forward the question of granting to Japanese the electoral franchise in Hawaii, and stating that the matter would be brought before the government seriously.

On June 5 and July 7, 1893, Mr. Irwin had written in the same vein.

On July 28, same year, he states: "Mr. Mutsu fears an attack when parliament meets in November regarding Hawaii. The public is perfectly unreasoning and easily excited. Even now the electoral franchise question is popular with those who know nothing about it." "In any event I hope the franchise will be granted the Japanese."

President Dole was at the time very fully occupied in bringing order out of much confusion, and had had no occasion, although performing the duties of Minister of Foreign Affairs at the time, to burrow into the disordered mass of records of the Foreign Office. Mr. Fujii's proposition therefore struck him as being a very novel claim. To his inquiry of Mr. Fujii upon what treaty stipulation he relied, Mr. Fujii promptly replied section two of the treaty of 1871. To the further inquiry as to whether the claim extended to Japanese field laborers who were in Hawaii under labor contracts to which the Hawaiian government was a party, the responsible employer, and to which the Japanese government was privy, and even retained direct control over the laborers by the retention of 25% of their wages, Mr. Fujii replied that he made the claim on behalf of all Japanese in the country. Mr. Dole's reply to this claim is one of his state papers which well repays reading.

On April 10th, 1883, Mr. Dole formally notified the Japanese government, through Mr. Fujii, Consul-General, that negotiations with the United States were pending that looked to a political union of Hawaii to the United States.

During this period Mr. Fujii made a categorical demand

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of the Provisional Government if it proposed to consider itself bound by the confidential terms supplemental to the Labor Convention, which had been agreed upon between Hawaii and Japan. This letter has not been found on the files. The fact of its being sent is within the personal knowledge of the writer of the paper. The inquiry was directed chiefly to restriction of Chinese immigration. The reply given was that the government would be bound by the text of the treaties as published.

On March 5th, 1894, the Foreign Office of Hawaii wrote to Mr. Fujii that the subject would be laid before the contemplated constitutional convention with a view of thereafter limiting the extension of the privilege so that there should be no discrimination in regard to the suffrage towards aliens with whom the government had treaty stipulations, save as to those who might have special claim to the voting privilege from services rendered the government.

Mutsu Munimitsu replied to Mr. Irwin referring to the above letter which had been placed in his hands March 19th, stating that he was compelled to say that the assurances did not in the estimation of the Imperial government seem to meet the requirements of the case.

Thus the matter stood when the convention was convened.

The last exchange of views between the two governments brought out clearly one point: Japan's object was not so much to bring about the removal of the discrimination as to secure the vote. This was made more evident as the sessions of the convention continued. Counsel learned in the law was employed to urge the Japanese view upon members of the convention, which was done with much force. The views of the Executive Council were adopted by the convention. All naturalization was suspended. It was provided that no grant of citizenship should thereafter be made until treaties on the subject of naturalization should be negotiated. This course was taken to emphasize the view of the Provisional Government that there could be no foundation in law, reason or the usages of nations for one nation to demand of another as a right permission for its subjects to cast off their allegiance and gain citizenship in the other country. There is a mutuality of obligation in the relation of sovereign and subject, State and citizen. There is the obligation of support on the part of the State. This is a heavy burden in countries small in area and large in population. Do the humanitarians argue that the overcrowded coun-

try may at its own volition unburden upon the other? And must the other merely say excuse me and submit? Being made a subject of negotiation by treaty, individual treatment was possible in the case of each country dealt with.

The convention, however, saved the vote for its supporters among Americans and Europeans. This was done by following along the lines of section 433 of the Civil Code of 1859.

It was provided that special rights of citizenship should be granted to all persons (irrespective of race) who could prove to the Minister of the Interior within six months that they had taken part in the establishment or support of the new government.

This ended the diplomatic correspondence between Japan and Hawaii as far as the electoral franchise was concerned. Immigration, however, continued at a greater rate than ever before. In 1896, 5129 Japanese arrived. Shortly after the establishment of the Republic of Hawaii, the Labor Convention was ignored, and it lapsed into complete disuse before annexation. But Japanese were sent out in constantly increasing numbers as free immigrants. The disregard of the general statutes of Hawaii in regard to immigration became so evident that while Henry E. Cooper was Minister of Foreign Affairs some 1200 or 1500 intending settlers were turned back. But this is a story which does not belong to this paper.

The action of the convention put an end for the time being to the strained situation. There remained the dangerous "favored nation" clause of the treaty of 1871. The convention could not escape from the restriction which that placed upon Hawaii in its efforts to develop on Anglo-Saxon lines. In Kalakaua's day, under the Gibson regime, the government cast longing eyes to the Orient, and dreamed pleasant dreams of eastern alliance and absolutism. (See Armstrong's *Around the World with a King*.)

One conclusion all must join in: From all of his countrymen who glory in seeing the American Flag flying in these Islands is due a tribute of respect to Sanford Ballard Dole.

FRANCIS M. HATCH.

January 11, 1915.

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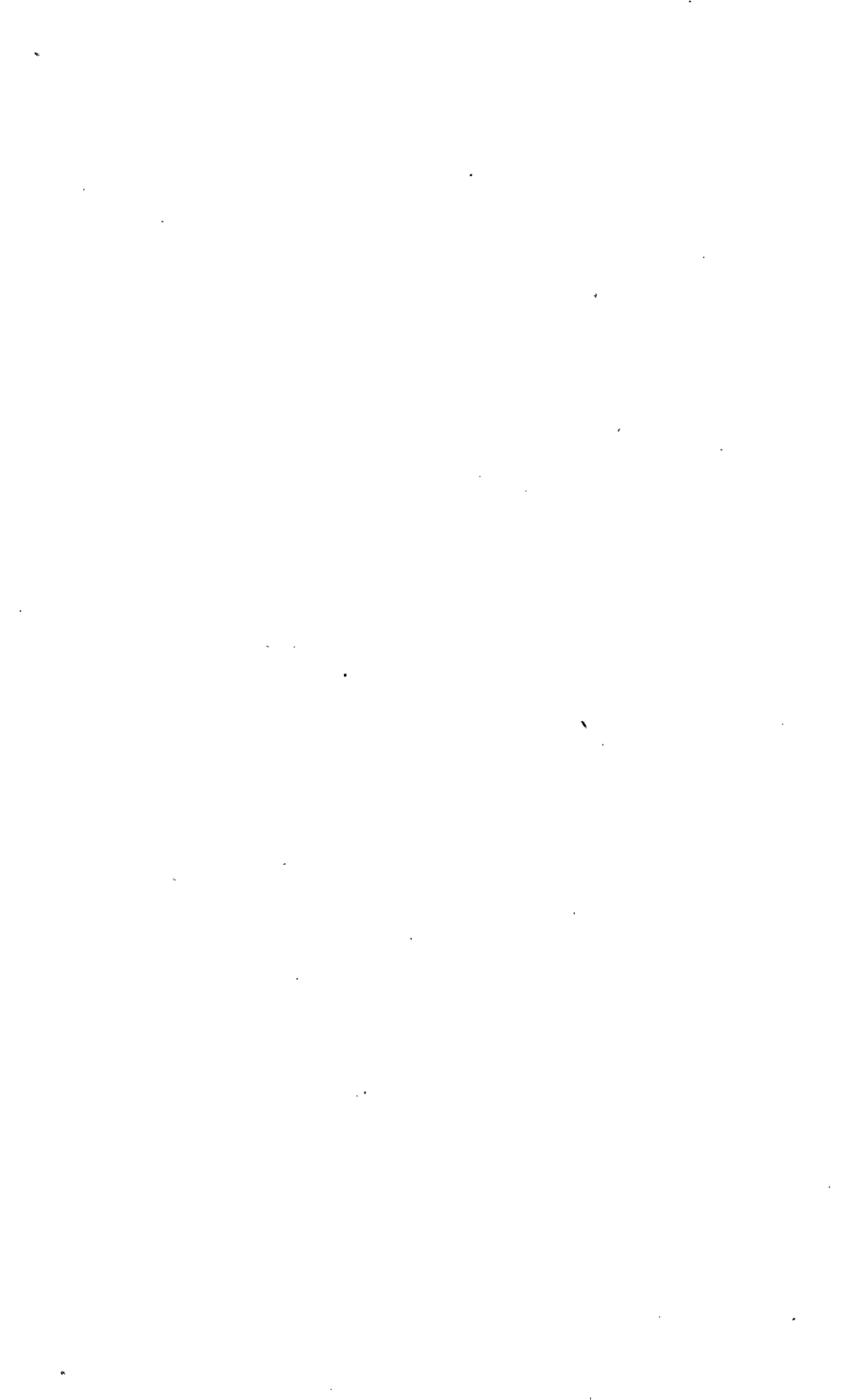
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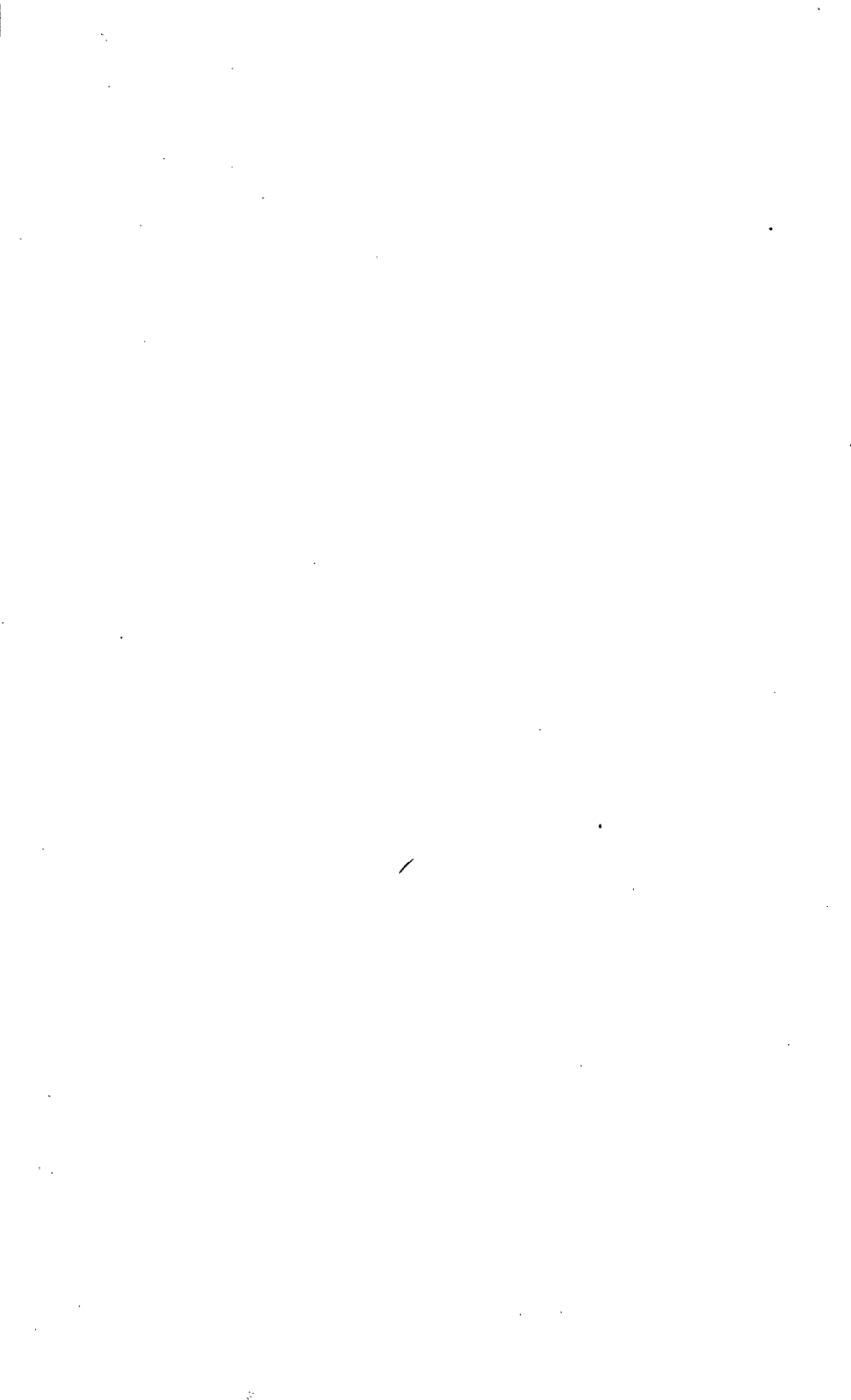
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